

Sir Josh: Reynolds pinxt. *T. Trotter Sculp:*

London. Publish'd as the Act directs June 8th 1791.

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THE

LIVES

OF THE MOST EMINENT

ENGLISH POETS;

WITH

CRITICAL OBSERVATIONS

ON THEIR

WORKS.

By SAMUEL JOHNSON.

IN FOUR VOLUMES.

A NEW EDITION, CORRECTED.

THE FIRST VOLUME.

LONDON:

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MDCCLXXXIII.

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My purpoſe was only to have allotted to every Poet an Advertiſement, like thoſe which we find in the French Miſcellanies, containing a few dates and a general character; but I have been led beyond my intention, I hope, by the honeſt deſire of giving uſeful pleaſure.

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In this minute kind of Hiſtory, the ſucceſſion of facts is not eaſily diſcovered; and I am not without ſuſpicion that ſome of Dryden's works are placed in wrong years. I have followed Langbaine, as the beſt authority for his plays: and if I ſhall hereafter obtain a more correct chronology, will publiſh it; but I do not yet know that my account is erroneous.

Dryden's Remarks on Rymer have been ſomewhere printed before. The former edition I have not ſeen. This was tranſcribed for the preſs from his own manuſcript.

As this undertaking was occaſional and unforeſeen, I muſt be ſuppoſed

to have engaged in it with leſs proviſion of materials than might have been accumulated by longer premeditation. Of the later writers at leaſt I might, by attention and enquiry, have gleaned many particulars, which would have diverſified and enlivened my Biography. Theſe omiſſions, which it is now uſeleſs to lament, have been often ſupplied by the kindneſs of Mr. STEEVENS and other friends; and great aſſiſtance has been given me by Mr. SPENCE's Collections, of which I conſider the communication as a favour worthy of publick acknowledgement.

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COWLEY.

THE Life of Cowley, notwithſtanding the penury of Engliſh biography, has been written by Dr. Sprat, an author whoſe pregnancy of imagination and elegance of language have deſervedly ſet him high in the ranks of literature; but his zeal of friendſhip, or ambition of eloquence, has produced a funeral oration rather than a hiſtory: he has given the character, not the life of Cowley; for he writes with ſo little detail, that ſcarcely any thing is diſtinctly known, but all is ſhewn confuſed and enlarged through the miſt of panegyrick.

ABRAHAM COWLEY was born in the year one thouſand ſix hundred and eighteen. 1618 His father was a grocer, whoſe con-

dition Dr. Sprat conceals under the general appellation of a citizen; and, what would probably not have been leſs carefully ſuppreſſed, the omiſſion of his name in the regiſter of St. Dunſtan's pariſh gives reaſon to ſuſpect that his father was a ſectary. Whoever he was, he died before the birth of his ſon, and conſequently left him to the care of his mother; whom Wood repreſents as ſtruggling earneſtly to procure him a literary education, and who, as ſhe lived to the age of eighty, had her ſolicitude rewarded by ſeeing her ſon eminent, and, I hope, by ſeeing him fortunate, and partaking his proſperity. We know at leaſt, from Sprat's account, that he always acknowledged her care, and juſtly paid the dues of filial gratitude.

In the window of his mother's apartment lay Spenſer's Fairy Queen; in which he very early took delight to read, till, by feeling the charms of verſe, he became, as he relates, irrecoverably a poet. Such are the accidents, which, ſometimes remembered, and perhaps ſometimes forgotten, produce that particular deſignation of mind, and propenſity for ſome certain ſcience or employ-

COWLEY.

ment, which is commonly called Genius. The true Genius is a mind of large general powers, accidentally determined to ſome particular direction. Sir Joſhua Reynolds, the great Painter of the preſent age, had the firſt fondneſs for his art excited by the peruſal of Richardſon's treatiſe.

By his mother's ſolicitation he was admitted into Weſtminſter ſchool, where he was ſoon diſtinguiſhed. He was wont, ſays Sprat, to relate, "That he had this defect in his "memory at that time, that his teachers "never could bring it to retain the ordinary "rules of grammar."

This is an inſtance of the natural deſire of man to propagate a wonder. It is ſurely very difficult to tell any thing as it was heard, when Sprat could not refrain from amplifying a commodious incident, though the book to which he prefixed his narrative contained its confutation. A memory admitting ſome things, and rejecting others, an intellectual digeſtion that concocted the pulp of learning, but refuſed the huſks, had the appearance of an inſtinctive elegance, of a particular proviſion made by Nature for literary politeneſs.

But in the author's own honeſt relation, the marvel vaniſhes: he was, he ſays, ſuch "an "enemy to all conſtraint, that his maſter "never could prevail on him to learn the "rules without book." He does not tell that he could not learn the rules, but that, being able to perform his exerciſes without them, and being an "enemy to conſtraint," he ſpared himſelf the labour.

Among the Engliſh poets, Cowley, Milton, and Pope, might be ſaid "to liſp in numbers;" and have given ſuch early proofs, not only of powers of language, but of comprehenſion of things, as to more tardy minds ſeems ſcarcely credible. But of the learned puerilities of Cowley there is no doubt, ſince a volume of his poems was not only written but printed in his thirteenth year; containing, with other poetical compoſitions, "The "tragical Hiſtory of Pyramus and Thiſbe," written when he was ten years old; and "Conſtantia and Philetus," written two years after.

While he was yet at ſchool he produced a comedy called "Love's Riddle," though it

1633.

it was not publiſhed till he had been ſome time at Cambridge. This comedy is of the paſtoral kind, which requires no acquaintance with the living world, and therefore the time at which it was compoſed adds little to the wonders of Cowley's minority.

In 1636, he was removed to Cambridge, where he continued his ſtudies with great intenſeneſs; for he is ſaid to have written, while he was yet a young ſtudent, the greater part of his Davideis; a work of which the materials could not have been collected without the ſtudy of many years, but by a mind of the greateſt vigour and activity.

Two years after his ſettlement at Cambridge he publiſhed "Love's Riddle," with a poetical dedication to Sir Kenelm Digby; of whoſe acquaintance all his contemporaries ſeem to have been ambitious; and "Naufragium Joculare," a comedy written in Latin, but without due attention to the ancient models: for it is not looſe verſe, but mere proſe. It was printed, with a dedication in verſe to Dr. Comber, maſter of the college; but having neither the facility of a

popular nor the accuracy of a learned work, it ſeems to be now univerſally neglected.

At the beginning of the civil war, as the Prince paſſed through Cambridge in his way to York, he was entertained with the repreſentation of the "Guardian," a comedy, which Cowley ſays was neither written nor acted, but rough-drawn by him, and repeated by the ſcholars. That this comedy was printed during his abſence from his country, he appears to have conſidered as injurious to his reputation; though, during the ſuppreſſion of the theatres, it was ſometimes privately acted with ſufficient approbation.

In 1643, being now maſter of arts, he was, by the prevalence of the parliament, ejected from Cambridge, and ſheltered himſelf at St. John's College in Oxford; where, as is ſaid by Wood, he publiſhed a ſatire called "The Puritan and Papiſt," which was only inſerted in the laſt collection of his works; and ſo diſtinguiſhed himſelf by the warmth of his loyalty, and the elegance of his converſation, that he gained the kindneſs and confidence of thoſe who attended the King,

and

and amongſt others of Lord Falkland, whoſe notice caſt a luſtre on all to whom it was extended.

About the time when Oxford was ſurrendered to the parliament, he followed the Queen to Paris, where he became ſecretary to the Lord Jermin, afterwards Earl of St. Albans, and was employed in ſuch correſpondence as the royal cauſe required, and particularly in cyphering and decyphering the letters that paſſed between the King and Queen; an employment of the higheſt confidence and honour. So wide was his province of intelligence, that, for ſeveral years, it filled all his days and two or three nights in the week.

In the year 1647, his "Miſtreſs" was publiſhed; for he imagined, as he declared in his preface to a ſubſequent edition, that "poets are ſcarce thought freemen of their "company without paying ſome duties, or "obliging themſelves to be true to Love."

This obligation to amorous ditties owes, I believe, its original to the fame of Petrarch,

who, in an age rude and uncultivated, by his tuneful homage to his Laura, refined the manners of the lettered world, and filled Europe with love and poetry. But the baſis of all excellence is truth: he that profeſſes love ought to feel its power. Petrarch was a real lover, and Laura doubtleſs deſerved his tenderneſs. Of Cowley, we are told by Barnes *, who had means enough of information, that, whatever he may talk of his own inflammability, and the variety of characters by which his heart was divided, he in reality was in love but once, and then never had reſolution to tell his paſſion.

This conſideration cannot but abate, in ſome meaſure, the reader's eſteem for the work and the author. To love excellence, is natural; it is natural likewiſe for the lover to ſolicit reciprocal regard by an elaborate diſplay of his own qualifications. The deſire of pleaſing has in different men produced actions of heroiſm, and effuſions of wit; but it ſeems as reaſonable to appear the champion as the poet of an "airy nothing," and to quarrel as to write for what Cowley

* V. Barneſii Anacreontem.

might

might have learned from his maſter Pindar to call the "dream of a ſhadow."

It is ſurely not difficult, in the ſolitude of a college, or in the buſtle of the world, to find uſeful ſtudies and ſerious employment. No man needs to be ſo burthened with life as to ſquander it in voluntary dreams of fictitious occurrences. The man that ſits down to ſuppoſe himſelf charged with treaſon or peculation, and heats his mind to an elaborate purgation of his character from crimes which he was never within the poſſibility of committing, differs only by the infrequency of his folly from him who praiſes beauty which he never ſaw, complains of jealouſy which he never felt; ſuppoſes himſelf ſometimes invited, and ſometimes forſaken; fatigues his fancy, and ranſacks his memory, for images which may exhibit the gaiety of hope, or the gloomineſs of deſpair, and dreſſes his imaginary Chloris or Phyllis ſometimes in flowers fading as her beauty, and ſometimes in gems laſting as her virtues.

At Paris, as ſecretary to Lord Jermin, he was engaged in tranſacting things of real impor-

importance with real men and real women, and at that time did not much employ his thoughts upon phantoms of gallantry. Some of his letters to Mr. Bennet, afterwards Earl of Arlington, from April to December in 1650, are preſerved in "Miſcellanea Aulica," a collection of papers publiſhed by Brown. Theſe letters, being written like thoſe of other men whoſe mind is more on things than words, contribute no otherwiſe to his reputation than as they ſhew him to have been above the affectation of unſeaſonable elegance, and to have known that the buſineſs of a ſtateſman can be little forwarded by flowers of rhetorick.

One paſſage, however, ſeems not unworthy of ſome notice. Speaking of the Scotch treaty then in agitation:

"The Scotch treaty," ſays he, "is the "only thing now in which we are vitally "concerned; I am one of the laſt hopers, "and yet cannot now abſtain from believing, "that an agreement will be made: all people "upon the place incline to that of union. "The Scotch will moderate ſomething of "the

"the rigour of their demands; the mutual "neceſſity of an accord is viſible, the King "is perſuaded of it. And to tell you the "truth (which I take to be an argument "above all the reſt), Virgil has told the ſame "thing to that purpoſe."

This expreſſion from a ſecretary of the preſent time would be conſidered as merely ludicrous, or at moſt as an oſtentatious diſplay of ſcholarſhip; but the manners of that time were ſo tinged with ſuperſtition, that I cannot but ſuſpect Cowley of having conſulted on this great occaſion the Virgilian lots, and to have given ſome credit to the anſwer of his oracle.

Some years afterwards, "buſineſs, "ſays Sprat, "paſſed of courſe into other hands;" and Cowley, being no longer uſeful at Paris, was in 1656 ſent back into England, that, "under pretence of privacy and retirement, "he might take occaſion of giving notice of "the poſture of things in this nation."

Soon after his return to London, he was ſeized by ſome meſſengers of the uſurping powers,

powers, who were ſent out in queſt of another man; and, being examined, was put into confinement, from which he was not diſmiſſed without the ſecurity of a thouſand pounds given by Dr. Scarborow.

This year he publiſhed his poems, with a preface, in which he ſeems to have inſerted ſomething, ſuppreſſed in ſubſequent editions, which was interpreted to denote ſome relaxation of his loyalty. In this preface he declares, that "his deſire had been for ſome "days paſt, and did ſtill very vehemently "continue, to retire himſelf to ſome of the "American plantations, and to forſake this "world for ever."

From the obloquy which the appearance of ſubmiſſion to the uſurpers brought upon him, his biographer has been very diligent to clear him, and indeed it does not ſeem to have leſſened his reputation. His wiſh for retirement we can eaſily believe to be undiſſembled; a man harraſſed in one kingdom, and perſecuted in another, who, after a courſe of buſineſs that employed all his days and half his nights in cyphering and decypher-

ing,

ing, comes to his own country and ſteps into a priſon, will be willing enough to retire to ſome place of quiet, and of ſafety. Yet let neither our reverence for a genius, nor our pity for a ſufferer, diſpoſe us to forget that, if his activity was virtue, his retreat was cowardice.

He then took upon himſelf the character of Phyſician, ſtill, according to Sprat, with intention "to diſſemble the main deſign of "his coming over," and, as Mr. Wood relates, "complying with the men then in "power (which was much taken notice of "by the royal party), he obtained an order "to be created Doctor of Phyſick, which "being done to his mind (whereby he gained "the ill-will of ſome of his friends), he went "into France again, having made a copy of "verſes on Oliver's death."

This is no favourable repreſentation, yet even in this not much wrong can be diſcovered. How far he complied with the men in power, is to be enquired before he can be blamed. It is not ſaid that he told them any ſecrets, or aſſiſted them by intelligence, or any

any other act. If he only promiſed to be quiet, that they in whoſe hands he was might free him from confinement, he did what no law of ſociety prohibits.

The man whoſe miſcarriage in a juſt cauſe has put him in the power of his enemy may, without any violation of his integrity, regain his liberty, or preſerve his life, by a promiſe of neutrality: for the ſtipulation gives the enemy nothing which he had not before; the neutrality of a captive may be always ſecured by his impriſonment or death. He that is at the diſpoſal of another may not promiſe to aid him in any injurious act, becauſe no power can compel active obedience. He may engage to do nothing, but not to do ill.

There is reaſon to think that Cowley promiſed little. It does not appear that his compliance gained him confidence enough to be truſted without ſecurity, for the bond of his bail was never cancelled; nor that it made him think himſelf ſecure, for at that diſſolution of government, which followed the death of Oliver, he returned into France, where

where he reſumed his former ſtation, and ſtaid till the Reſtoration.

"He continued," ſays his biographer, "under theſe bonds till the general deli-"verance;" it is therefore to be ſuppoſed, that he did not go to France, and act again for the King, without the conſent of his bondſman; that he did not ſhew his loyalty at the hazard of his friend, but by his friend's permiſſion.

Of the verſes on Oliver's death, in which Wood's narrative ſeems to imply ſomething encomiaſtick, there has been no appearance. There is a diſcourſe concerning his government, indeed, with verſes intermixed, but ſuch as certainly gained its author no friends among the abettors of uſurpation.

A doctor of phyſick however he was made at Oxford, in December 1657; and in the commencement of the Royal Society, of which an account has been publiſhed by Dr. Birch, he appears buſy among the experimental philoſophers with the title of Doctor Cowley.

There

There is no reaſon for ſuppoſing that he ever attempted practice; but his preparatory ſtudies have contributed ſomething to the honour of his country. Conſidering Botany as neceſſary to a phyſician, he retired into Kent to gather plants; and as the predominance of a favourite ſtudy affects all ſubordinate operations of the intellect, Botany in the mind of Cowley turned into poetry. He compoſed in Latin ſeveral books on Plants, of which the firſt and ſecond diſplay the qualities of Herbs, in elegiac verſe; the third and fourth the beauties of Flowers in various meaſures; and in the fifth and ſixth, the uſes of Trees in heroick numbers.

At the ſame time were produced from the ſame univerſity, the two great Poets, Cowley and Milton, of diſſimilar genius, of oppoſite principles; but concurring in the cultivation of Latin poetry, in which the Engliſh, till their works and May's poem appeared, ſeemed unable to conteſt the palm with any other of the lettered nations.

If

If the Latin performances of Cowley and Milton be compared, for May I hold to be ſuperior to both, the advantage ſeems to lie on the ſide of Cowley. Milton is generally content to expreſs the thoughts of the ancients in their language; Cowley, without much loſs of purity or elegance, accommodates the diction of Rome to his own conceptions.

At the Reſtoration, after all the diligence of his long ſervice, and with conſciouſneſs not only of the merit of fidelity, but of the dignity of great abilities, he naturally expected ample preferments; and, that he might not be forgotten by his own fault, wrote a Song of Triumph. But this was a time of ſuch general hope, that great numbers were inevitably diſappointed; and Cowley found his reward very tediouſly delayed. He had been promiſed by both Charles the firſt and ſecond the Maſterſhip of the Savoy; but "he loſt it," ſays Wood, "by certain "perſons, enemies to the Muſes."

The neglect of the court was not his only mortification; having, by ſuch alteration as he thought proper, fitted his old Comedy of the Guardian for the ſtage, he produced it to the publick under the title of "The Cutter "of Coleman-ſtreet." It was treated on the ſtage with great ſeverity, and was afterwards cenſured as a ſatire on the king's party.

Mr. Dryden, who went with Mr. Sprat to the firſt exhibition, related to Mr. Dennis, "that when they told Cowley how little fa- "vour had been ſhewn him, he received the "news of his ill ſucceſs, not with ſo much "firmneſs as might have been expected from "ſo great a man."

What firmneſs they expected, or what weakneſs Cowley diſcovered, cannot be known. He that miſſes his end will never be as much pleaſed as he that attains it, even when he can impute no part of his failure to himſelf; and when the end is to pleaſe the multitude, no man perhaps has a right, in things admitting of gradation and compariſon, to throw the whole blame upon his judges,

judges, and totally to exclude diffidence and ſhame by a haughty conſciouſneſs of his own excellence.

For the rejection of this play, it is difficult now to find the reaſon: it certainly has, in a very great degree, the power of fixing attention and exciting merriment. From the charge of diſaffection he exculpates himſelf in his preface, by obſerving how unlikely it is that, having followed the royal family through all their diſtreſſes, "he ſhould chuſe "the time of their reſtoration to begin a "quarrel with them." It appears, however, from the Theatrical Regiſter of Downes the prompter, to have been popularly conſidered as a ſatire on the Royaliſts.

That he might ſhorten this tedious ſuſpenſe, he publiſhed his pretenſions and his diſcontent, in an ode called "The Com-"plaint;" in which he ſtyles himſelf the *melancholy* Cowley. This met with the uſual fortune of complaints, and ſeems to have excited more contempt than pity.

Theſe unlucky incidents are brought, maliciouſly enough, together in ſome ſtanzas, written about that time, on the choice of a laureat; a mode of ſatire, by which, ſince it was firſt introduced by Suckling, perhaps every generation of poets has been teazed:

Savoy-miſſing Cowley came into the court,
Making apologies for his bad play;
Every one gave him ſo good a report,
That Apollo gave heed to all he could ſay;
Nor would he have had, 'tis thought, a rebuke,
Unleſs he had done ſome notable folly;
Writ verſes unjuſtly in praiſe of Sam Tuke,
Or printed his pitiful Melancholy.

His vehement deſire of retirement now came again upon him. "Not finding," ſays the moroſe Wood, "that preferment conferred upon him which he expected, while "others for their money carried away moſt "places, he retired diſcontented into Surrey."

"He was now," ſays the courtly Sprat, "weary of the vexations and formalities of "an active condition. He had been perplexed

"with

"with a long compliance to foreign man-
"ners. He was ſatiated with the arts of a
"court; which ſort of life, though his vir-
"tue made it innocent to him, yet nothing
"could make it quiet. Thoſe were the
"reaſons that moved him to follow the vio-
"lent inclination of his own mind, which,
"in the greateſt throng of his former buſi-
"neſs, had ſtill called upon him, and re-
"preſented to him the true delights of ſoli-
"tary ſtudies, of temperate pleaſures, and a
"moderate revenue below the malice and
"flatteries of fortune."

So differently are things ſeen, and ſo dif-
ferently are they ſhown; but actions are
viſible, though motives are ſecret. Cowley
certainly retired; firſt to Barn-elms, and
afterwards to Chertſey, in Surrey. He ſeems,
however, to have loſt part of his dread of
the * *hum of men.* He thought himſelf now
ſafe enough from intruſion, without the de-
fence of mountains and oceans; and, inſtead
of ſeeking ſhelter in America, wiſely went
only ſo far from the buſtle of life as that he
might eaſily find his way back, when ſoli-

* L'Allegro of Milton.

tude ſhould grow tedious. His retreat was at firſt but ſlenderly accommodated; yet he ſoon obtained, by the intereſt of the Earl of St. Albans and the duke of Buckingham, ſuch a leaſe of the Queen's lands as afforded him an ample income.

By the lover of virtue and of wit it will be ſolicitouſly aſked, if he now was happy. Let them peruſe one of his letters accidentally preſerved by Peck, which I recommend to the conſideration of all that may hereafter pant for ſolitude.

" To Dr. THOMAS SPRAT.

" Chertſey, 21 May, 1665.

" The firſt night that I came hither I " caught ſo great a cold, with a defluxion of " rheum, as made me keep my chamber ten " days. And, two after, had ſuch a bruiſe " on my ribs with a fall, that I am yet un- " able to move or turn myſelf in my bed. " This is my perſonal fortune here to begin " with. And, beſides, I can get no money " from my tenants, and have my meadows

"eaten up every night by cattle put in by "my neighbours. What this ſignifies, or "may come to in time, God knows; if it "be ominous, it can end in nothing leſs "than hanging. Another misfortune has "been, and ſtranger than all the reſt, that "you have broke your word with me, and "failed to come, even though you told Mr. "Bois that you would. This is what they "call *Monſtri ſimile.* I do hope to recover "my late hurt ſo farre within five or ſix "days (though it be uncertain yet whether "I ſhall ever recover it) as to walk about "again. And then, methinks, you and I "and *the Dean* might be very merry upon "S. Anne's Hill. You might very conve-"niently come hither the way of Hampton "Town, lying there one night. I write this "in pain, and can ſay no more: *Verbum "ſapienti.*"

He did not long enjoy the pleaſure or ſuffer the uneaſineſs of ſolitude; for he died at the Porch-houſe * in Chertſey in 1667, in the 49th year of his age.

* Now in the poſſeſſion of Mr. Clarke, Alderman of London.

He was buried with great pomp near Chaucer and Spenſer; and king Charles pronounced, "That Mr. Cowley had not left a "better man behind him in England." He is repreſented by Dr. Sprat as the moſt amiable of mankind; and this poſthumous praiſe may be ſafely credited, as it has never been contradicted by envy or by faction.

Such are the remarks and memorials which I have been able to add to the narrative of Dr. Sprat; who, writing when the feuds of the civil war were yet recent, and the minds of either party eaſily irritated, was obliged to paſs over many tranſactions in general expreſſions, and to leave curioſity often unſatisfied. What he did not tell, cannot however now be known. I muſt therefore recommend the peruſal of his work, to which my narration can be conſidered only as a ſlender ſupplement.

COWLEY, like other poets who have written with narrow views, and, inſtead of tracing intellectual pleaſure to its natural ſources in the mind of man, paid their court to temporary prejudices, has been at one time too much praiſed, and too much neglected at another.

Wit, like all other things ſubject by their nature to the choice of man, has its changes and faſhions, and at different times takes different forms. About the beginning of the ſeventeenth century appeared a race of writers that may be termed the metaphyſical poets; of whom, in a criticiſm on the works of Cowley, it is not improper to give ſome account.

The metaphyſical poets were men of learning, and to ſhew their learning was their whole endeavour; but, unluckily reſolving to ſhew it in rhyme, inſtead of writing poetry, they only wrote verſes, and very often ſuch verſes as ſtood the trial of the finger better than of the ear; for the modulation was

was ſo imperfect, that they were only found to be verſes by counting the ſyllables.

If the father of criticiſm has rightly denominated poetry τέχνη μιμητικὴ, *an imitative art*, theſe writers will, without great wrong, loſe their right to the name of poets; for they cannot be ſaid to have imitated any thing; they neither copied nature nor life; neither painted the forms of matter, nor repreſented the operations of intellect.

Thoſe however who deny them to be poets, allow them to be wits. Dryden confeſſes of himſelf and his contemporaries, that they fall below Donne in wit, but maintains that they ſurpaſs him in poetry.

If Wit be well deſcribed by Pope, as being, "that which has been often thought, "but was never before ſo well expreſſed," they certainly never attained, nor ever ſought it; for they endeavoured to be ſingular in their thoughts, and were careleſs of their diction. But Pope's account of wit is undoubtedly erroneous: he depreſſes it below its

its natural dignity, and reduces it from ſtrength of thought to happineſs of language.

If by a more noble and more adequate conception that be conſidered as Wit, which is at once natural and new, that which, though not obvious, is, upon its firſt production, acknowledged to be juſt; if it be that, which he that never found it, wonders how he miſſed; to wit of this kind the metaphyſical poets have ſeldom riſen. Their thoughts are often new, but ſeldom natural; they are not obvious, but neither are they juſt; and the reader, far from wondering that he miſſed them, wonders more frequently by what perveſeneſs of induſtry they were ever found.

But Wit, abſtracted from its effects upon the hearer, may be more rigorouſly and philoſophically conſidered as a kind of *diſcordia concors*; a combination of diſſimilar images, or diſcovery of occult reſemblances in things apparently unlike. Of wit, thus defined, they have more than enough. The moſt heterogeneous ideas are yoked by violence together; nature and art are ranſacked for illuſtrations,

illuſtrations, compariſons, and alluſions; their learning inſtructs, and their ſubtilty ſurpriſes; but the reader commonly thinks his improvement dearly bought, and, though he ſometimes admires, is ſeldom pleaſed.

From this account of their compoſitions it will be readily inferred, that they were not ſucceſsful in repreſenting or moving the affections. As they were wholly employed on ſomething unexpected and ſurpriſing, they had no regard to that uniformity of ſentiment which enables us to conceive and to excite the pains and the pleaſure of other minds: they never enquired what, on any occaſion, they ſhould have ſaid or done; but wrote rather as beholders than partakers of human nature; as Beings looking upon good and evil, impaſſive and at leiſure; as Epicurean deities making remarks on the actions of men, and the viciſſitudes of life, without intereſt and without emotion. Their courtſhip was void of fondneſs, and their lamentation of ſorrow. Their wiſh was only to ſay what they hoped had been never ſaid before.

Nor

Nor was the ſublime more within their reach than the pathetick; for they never attempted that comprehenſion and expanſe of thought which at once fills the whole mind, and of which the firſt effect is ſudden aſtoniſhment, and the ſecond rational admiration. Sublimity is produced by aggregation, and littleneſs by diſperſion. Great thoughts are always general, and conſiſt in poſitions not limited by exceptions, and in deſcriptions not deſcending to minuteneſs. It is with great propriety that Subtlety, which in its original import means exility of particles, is taken in its metaphorical meaning for nicety of diſtinction. Thoſe writers who lay on the watch for novelty could have little hope of greatneſs; for great things cannot have eſcaped former obſervation. Their attempts were always analytick; they broke every image into fragments: and could no more repreſent, by their ſlender conceits and laboured particularities, the proſpects of nature, or the ſcenes of life, than he, who diſſects a ſun-beam with a priſm, can exhibit the wide effulgence of a ſummer noon.

What

What they wanted however of the ſublime, they endeavoured to ſupply by hyperbole; their amplification had no limits; they left not only reaſon but fancy behind them; and produced combinations of confuſed magnificence, that not only could not be credited, but could not be imagined.

Yet great labour, directed by great abilities, is never wholly loſt: if they frequently threw away their wit upon falſe conceits, they likewiſe ſometimes ſtruck out unexpected truth: if their conceits were farfetched, they were often worth the carriage. To write on their plan, it was at leaſt neceſſary to read and think. No man could be born a metaphyſical poet, nor aſſume the dignity of a writer, by deſcriptions copied from deſcriptions, by imitations borrowed from imitations, by traditional imagery, and hereditary ſimilies, by readineſs of rhyme, and volubility of ſyllables.

In peruſing the works of this race of authors, the mind is exerciſed either by recollection or inquiry; either ſomething already learned

learned is to be retrieved, or ſomething new is to be examined. If their greatneſs ſeldom elevates, their acuteneſs often ſurpriſes; if the imagination is not always gratified, at leaſt the powers of reflection and compariſon are employed; and in the maſs of materials which ingenious abſurdity has thrown together, genuine wit and uſeful knowledge may be ſometimes found, buried perhaps in groſſneſs of expreſſion, but uſeful to thoſe who know their value; and ſuch as, when they are expanded to perſpicuity, and poliſhed to elegance, may give luſtre to works which have more propriety though leſs copiouſneſs of ſentiment.

This kind of writing, which was, I believe, borrowed from Marina and his followers, had been recommended by the example of Donne, a man of very extenſive and various knowledge; and by Jonſon, whoſe manner reſembled that of Donne more in the ruggedneſs of his lines than in the caſt of his ſentiments.

When their reputation was high, they had undoubtedly more imitators, than time has left

left behind. Their immediate ſucceſſors, of whom any remembrance can be ſaid to remain, were Suckling, Waller, Denham, Cowley, Cleiveland, and Milton. Denham and Waller ſought another way to fame, by improving the harmony of our numbers. Milton tried the metaphyſick ſtyle only in his lines upon Hobſon the Carrier. Cowley adopted it, and excelled his predeceſſors, having as much ſentiment, and more muſick. Suckling neither improved verſification, nor abounded in conceits. The faſhionable ſtyle remained chiefly with Cowley; Suckling could not reach it, and Milton diſdained it.

CRITICAL REMARKS are not eaſily underſtood without examples; and I have therefore collected inſtances of the modes of writing by which this ſpecies of poets, for poets they were called by themſelves and their admirers, was eminently diſtinguiſhed.

AS the authors of this race were perhaps more deſirous of being admired than underſtood, they ſometimes drew their conceits from receſſes of learning not very much fre-

frequented by common readers of poetry. Thus Cowley on *Knowledge*:

The ſacred tree midſt the fair orchard grew;
The phœnix Truth did on it reſt,
And built his perfum'd neſt,
That right Porphyrian tree which did true logick ſhew.
Each leaf did learned notions give,
And th' apples were demonſtrative:
So clear their colour and divine,
The very ſhade they caſt did other lights outſhine.

On Anacreon continuing a lover in his old age:

Love was with thy life entwin'd,
Cloſe as heat with fire is join'd,
A powerful brand preſcrib'd the date
Of thine, like Meleager's fate.
Th' antiperiſtaſis of age
More enflam'd thy amorous rage.

In the following verſes we have an alluſion to a Rabbinical opinion concerning Manna:

Variety I aſk not: give me one
To live perpetually upon.
The perſon Love does to us fit,
Like manna, has the taſte of all in it.

Thus *Donne* ſhews his medicinal knowledge in ſome encomiaſtic verſes:

In every thing there naturally grows
A Balſamum to keep it freſh and new,
If 'twere not injur'd by extrinſique blows;
Your youth and beauty are this balm in you.
But you, of learning and religion,
And virtue and ſuch ingredients, have made
A mithridate, whoſe operation
Keeps off, or cures what can be done or ſaid.

Though the following lines of Donne, on the laſt night of the year, have ſomething in them too ſcholaſtick, they are not inelegant:

This twilight of two years, not paſt nor next,
Some emblem is of me, or I of this,
Who, meteor-like, of ſtuff and form perplext,
Whoſe what and where, in diſputation is,
If I ſhould call me any thing, ſhould miſs.

I ſum the years and me, and find me not
Debtor to th' old, nor creditor to th' new,
That cannot ſay, my thanks I have forgot,
Nor truſt I this with hopes; and yet ſcarce true
This bravery is, ſince theſe times ſhew'd me you.

DONNE.

Yet

Yet more abſtruſe and profound is *Donne's* reflection upon Man as a Microcoſm:

If men be worlds, there is in every one
Something to anſwer in ſome proportion
All the world's riches: and in good men, this
Virtue, our form's form, and our ſoul's ſoul is.

OF thoughts ſo far-fetched, as to be not only unexpected, but unnatural, all their books are full.

To a lady, who wrote poeſies for rings.

They, who above do various circles find,
Say, like a ring th' æquator heaven does bind.
When heaven ſhall be adorn'd by thee,
(Which then more heaven than 'tis, will be)
'Tis thou muſt write the poeſy there,
For it wanteth one as yet,
Though the ſun paſs through't twice a year,
The ſun, which is eſteem'd the god of wit.

COWLEY.

The difficulties which have been raiſed about identity in philoſophy, are by Cowley with ſtill more perplexity applied to Love:

Five years ago (ſays ſtory) I lov'd you,
For which you call me moſt inconſtant now;
Pardon me, madam, you miſtake the man;
For I am not the ſame that I was then;

No fleſh is now the ſame 'twas then in me,
And that my mind is chang'd yourſelf may ſee.

The ſame thoughts to retain ſtill, and intents,
Were more inconſtant far; for accidents
Muſt of all things moſt ſtrangely inconſtant prove,
If from one ſubject they t'another move:
My members then, the father members were
From whence theſe take their birth, which now are here.
If then this body love what th' other did,
'Twere inceſt, which by nature is forbid.

The love of different women is, in geographical poetry, compared to travels through different countries:

Haſt thou not found, each woman's breaſt
(The land where thou haſt travelled)
Either by ſavages poſſeſt,
Or wild, and uninhabited?
What joy could'ſt take, or what repoſe,
In countries ſo uncivilis'd as thoſe?
Luſt, the ſcorching dog ſtar, here
Rages with immoderate heat;
Whilſt Pride, the rugged Northern Bear,
In others makes the cold too great.

And

No doubt is now the same thou in me,
And that my mind is changed yourself may see.

The same thoughts to remain still, and intense,
Were more inconstant far; for accidents
Must of all things most strangely inconstant prove,
If from one subject they t'another move:
My members then, the father members were
From whence these take their birth, which now are here.
If then this body love what th' other did,
'Twere incest, which by nature is forbid.

The love of different women is, in geographical poetry, compared to travels through different countries:

Shall those supply, each woman's breast
(Those pure and white inns of rest)
Where lovers pass'd,
Or void, and uninhabited?
What joy could take, or what repose,
In countries so uncivilized as those?
Love, the domestic wild thing, here
Loves with immoderate heat;
Where Pole, the rugged Northern Bear,
Or others makes the cold his greatest

And where theſe are temperate known,
The ſoil's all barren ſand, or rocky ſtone.

COWLEY.

A lover, burnt up by his affection, is compared to Egypt:

The fate of Egypt I ſuſtain,
And never feel the dew of rain,
From clouds which in the head appear;
But all my too much moiſture owe
To overflowings of the heart below.

COWLEY.

The lover ſuppoſes his lady acquainted with the ancient laws of augury and rites of ſacrifice:

And yet this death of mine, I fear,
Will ominous to her appear:
When found in every other part,
Her ſacrifice is found without an heart.
For the laſt tempeſt of my death
Shall ſigh out that too, with my breath.

That the chaos was harmoniſed, has been recited of old; but whence the different ſounds aroſe, remained for a modern to diſcover:

Th' ungovern'd parts no correſpondence knew,
An artleſs war from thwarting motions grew;

Till they to number and fixt rules were brought,
Water and air he for the Tenor choſe,
Earth made the Baſe, the Treble flame aroſe.

COWLEY.

The tears of lovers are always of great poetical account; but Donne has extended them into worlds. If the lines are not eaſily underſtood, they may be read again.

On a round ball.

A workman, that hath copies by, can lay
An Europe, Afric, and an Aſia,
And quickly make that, which was nothing, all,
So doth each tear,
Which thee doth wear,
A globe, yea world, by that impreſſion grow,
Till thy tears mixt with mine do overflow
This world, by waters ſent from thee my heaven diſſolved ſo.

On reading the following lines, the reader may perhaps cry out—*Confuſion worſe confounded.*

Here lies a ſhe ſun, and a he moon here,
She gives the beſt light to his ſphere,
Or each is both, and all, and ſo
They unto one another nothing owe.

DONNE.

Who

Who but Donne would have thought that a good man is a teleſcope?

Though God be our true glaſs, through which we ſee
All, ſince the being of all things is he,
Yet are the trunks, which do to us derive
Things, in proportion fit, by perſpective
Deeds of good men; for by their living here,
Virtues, indeed remote, ſeem to be near.

Who would imagine it poſſible that in a very few lines ſo many remote ideas could be brought together?

Since 'tis my doom, Love's underſhrieve,
Why this reprieve?
Why doth my She Advowſon fly
Incumbency?
To ſell thyſelf doſt thou intend
By candle's end,
And hold the contraſt thus in doubt,
Life's taper out?
Think but how ſoon the market fails,
Your ſex lives faſter than the males;
As if to meaſure age's ſpan,
The ſober Julian were th' acount of man,
Whilſt you live by the fleet Gregorian.

CLEIVELAND.

OF enormous and diſguſting hyberboles, theſe may be examples:

By every wind, that comes this way,
Send me at leaſt a ſigh or two,
Such and ſo many I'll repay
As ſhall themſelves make winds to get to you.

COWLEY.

In tears I'll waſte theſe eyes,
By Love ſo vainly fed;
So luſt of old the Deluge puniſhed.

COWLEY.

All arm'd in braſs the richeſt dreſs of war,
(A diſmal glorious ſight) he ſhone afar.
The ſun himſelf ſtarted with ſudden fright,
To ſee his beams return ſo diſmal bright.

COWLEY.

An univerſal conſternation:

His bloody eyes he hurls round, his ſharp paws
Tear up the ground; then runs he wild about,
Laſhing his angry tail and roaring out.
Beaſts creep into their dens, and tremble there;
Trees, though no wind is ſtirring, ſhake with fear;
Silence and horror fill the place around:
Echo itſelf dares ſcarce repeat the ſound.

COWLEY.

THEIR

THEIR fictions were often violent and unnatural.

Of his Miſtreſs bathing:

The fiſh around her crouded, as they do
To the falſe light that treacherous fiſhers ſhew,
And all with as much eaſe might taken be,
As ſhe at firſt took me:
For ne'er did light ſo clear
Among the waves appear,
Though every night the ſun himſelf ſet there.

COWLEY.

The poetical effect of a Lover's name upon glaſs:

My name engrav'd herein
Doth contribute my firmneſs to this glaſs;
Which, ever ſince that charm, hath been
As hard as that which grav'd it was.

DONNE.

THEIR conceits were ſometimes ſlight and trifling.

On an inconſtant woman:

He enjoys thy calmy ſunſhine now,
And no breath ſtirring hears,
In the clear heaven of thy brow,
No ſmalleſt cloud appears.

He ſees thee gentle, fair and gay,
And truſts the faithleſs April of thy May.

COWLEY.

Upon a paper written with the juice of lemon, and read by the fire;

Nothing yet in thee is ſeen;
But when a genial heat warms thee within,
A new-born wood of various lines there grows;
Here buds an L, and there a B,
Here ſprouts a V, and there a T,
And all the flouriſhing letters ſtand in rows.

COWLEY.

AS they ſought only for novelty, they did not much enquire whether their alluſions were to things high or low, elegant or groſs; whether they compared the little to the great, or the great to the little.

Phyſick and Chirurgery for a Lover.

Gently, ah gently, madam, touch
The wound, which you yourſelf have made;
That pain muſt needs be very much,
Which makes me of your hand afraid.
Cordials of pity give me now,
For I too weak for purgings grow.

COWLEY.

The

The World and a Clock.

Mahol, th' inferior world's fantaſtic face,
Through all the turns of matter's maze did trace;
Great Nature's well-ſet clock in pieces took;
On all the ſprings and ſmalleſt wheels did look
Of life and motion; and with equal art
Made up again the whole of every part.

COWLEY.

A coal-pit has not often found its poet; but, that it may not want its due honour, Cleiveland has paralleled it with the Sun:

The moderate value of our guiltleſs ore
Makes no man atheiſt, and no woman whore;
Yet why ſhould hallow'd veſtal's ſacred ſhrine
Deſerve more honour than a flaming mine?
Theſe pregnant wombs of heat would fitter be
Than a few embers, for a deity.
Had he our pits, the Perſian would admire
No ſun, but warm 's devotion at our fire:
He'd leave the trotting whipſter, and prefer
Our profound Vulcan 'bove that waggoner.
For wants he heat, or light? or would have ſtore
Of both? 'tis here: and what can ſuns give more?
Nay, what's the ſun but, in a different name,
A coal-pit rampant, or a mine on flame!

Then let this truth reciprocally run,
The ſun's heaven's coalery, and coals our ſun.

Death, a Voyage:

No family
Ere rigg'd a ſoul for heaven's diſcovery,
With whom more venturers might boldly dare
Venture their ſtakes, with him in joy to ſhare.
DONNE.

THEIR thoughts and expreſſions were ſometimes groſsly abſurd, and ſuch as no figures or licence can reconcile to the underſtanding.

A Lover neither dead nor alive:

Then down I laid my head,
Down on cold earth; and for a while was dead,
And my freed ſoul to a ſtrange ſomewhere fled:
Ah, ſottiſh ſoul, ſaid I,
When back to its cage again I ſaw it fly:
Fool to reſume her broken chain!
And row her galley here again!
Fool, to that body to return
Where it condemn'd and deſtin'd is to burn!
Once dead, how can it be,
Death ſhould a thing ſo pleaſant ſeem to thee,
That thou ſhould'ſt come to live it o'er again in me?
COWLEY.

A Lover's

A Lover's heart, a hand grenado.

Wo to her ſtubborn heart, if once mine come
Into the ſelf-ſame room,
'Twill tear and blow up all within,
Like a grenado ſhot into a magazin.
Then ſhall Love keep the aſhes, and torn parts,
Of both our broken hearts:
Shall out of both one new one make;
From her's th' allay; from mine, the metal take.

COWLEY.

The poetical Propagation of Light:

The Prince's favour is diffus'd o'er all,
From which all fortunes, names, and natures fall;
Then from thoſe wombs of ſtars, the Bride's bright eyes,
At every glance a conſtellation flies,
And ſowes the court with ſtars, and doth prevent
In light and power, the all-ey'd firmament:
Firſt her eye kindles other ladies' eyes,
Then from their beams their jewels luſtres riſe;
And from their jewels torches do take fire,
And all is warmth, and light, and good deſire.

DONNE.

THEY

THEY were in very little care to clothe their notions with elegance of dreſs, and therefore miſs the notice and the praiſe which are often gained by thoſe, who think leſs, but are more diligent to adorn their thoughts.

That a miſtreſs beloved is fairer in idea than in reality, is by Cowley thus expreſſed:

Thou in my fancy doſt much higher ſtand,
Than women can be plac'd by Nature's hand;
And I muſt needs, I'm ſure, a loſer be,
To change thee, as thou'rt there, for very thee.

That prayer and labour ſhould co-operate, are thus taught by Donne:

In none but us, are ſuch mixt engines found,
As hands of double office: for the ground
We till with them; and them to heaven we raiſe;
Who prayerleſs labours, or without this, prays,
Doth but one half, that's none.

By the ſame author, a common topick, the danger of procraſtination, is thus illuſtrated:

—That which I ſhould have begun
In my youth's morning, now late muſt be done;
And I, as giddy travellers muſt do,

Which

Which ſtray or ſleep all day, and having loſt
Light and ſtrength, dark and tir'd muſt then
ride poſt.

All that Man has to do is to live and die; the ſum of humanity is comprehended by Donne in the following lines:

Think in how poor a priſon thou didſt lie;
After, enabled but to ſuck and cry.
Think, when 'twas grown to moſt, 'twas a poor
inn,
A province pack'd up in two yards of ſkin,
And that uſurp'd, or threaten'd with a rage
Of ſickneſſes, or their true mother, age.
But think that death hath now enfranchis'd thee;
Thou haſt thy expanſion now, and liberty;
Think, that a ruſty piece diſcharg'd is flown
In pieces, and the bullet is his own,
And freely flies: this to thy ſoul allow,
Think thy ſhell broke, think thy ſoul hatch'd
but now.

THEY were ſometimes indelicate and diſguſting. Cowley thus apoſtrophiſes beauty:

—Thou tyrant, which leav'ſt no man free!
Thou ſubtle thief, from whom nought ſafe can be!
Thou murtherer, which haſt kill'd, and devil, which would'ſt damn me.

Thus he addreſſes his Miſtreſs:

Thou who, in many a propriety,
So truly art the ſun to me,
Add one more likeneſs, which I'm ſure you can,
And let me and my ſun beget a man.

Thus he repreſents the meditations of a Lover:

Though in thy thoughts ſcarce any tracts have been
So much as of original ſin,
Such charms thy beauty wears as might
Deſires in dying confeſt ſaints excite.
Thou with ſtrange adultery
Doſt in each breaſt a brothel keep;
Awake, all men do luſt for thee,
And ſome enjoy thee when they ſleep.

The

The true taſte of Tears:

Hither with cryſtal vials, lovers, come,
And take my tears, which are Love's wine,
And try your miſtreſs' tears at home;
For all are falſe, that taſte not juſt like mine.
DONNE.

This is yet more indelicate:

As the ſweet ſweat of roſes in a ſtill,
As that which from chaf'd muſk-cat's pores doth trill,
As the almighty balm of th' early Eaſt,
Such are the ſweet drops of my miſtreſs' breaſt.
And on her neck her ſkin ſuch luſtre ſets,
They ſeem no ſweat-drops, but pearl coronets:
Rank ſweaty froth thy miſtreſs' brow defiles.
DONNE.

THEIR expreſſions ſometimes raiſe horror, when they intend perhaps to be pathetic:

As men in hell are from diſeaſes free,
So from all other ills am I,
Free from their known formality:
But all pains eminently lie in thee.
COWLEY.

THEY were not always ſtrictly curious, whether the opinions from which they drew their illuſtrations were true; it was enough that they were popular. Bacon remarks, that ſome falſehoods are continued by tradition, becauſe they ſupply commodious alluſions.

> It gave a piteous groan, and ſo it broke;
> In vain it ſomething would have ſpoke:
> The love within too ſtrong for 't was,
> Like poiſon put into a Venice-glaſs.
>
> COWLEY.

IN forming deſcriptions, they looked out not for images, but for conceits. Night has been a common ſubject, which poets have contended to adorn. Dryden's Night is well known; Donne's is as follows:

> Thou ſeeſt me here at midnight, now all reſt:
> Time's dead low-water; when all minds diveſt
> To morrow's buſineſs, when the labourers have
> Such reſt in bed, that their laſt church-yard grave,
> Subject to change, will ſcarce be a type of this,
> Now when the client, whoſe laſt hearing is
> To-morrow, ſleeps; when the condemned man,
> Who when he opes his eyes, muſt ſhut them then

Again by death, although ſad watch he keep,
Doth practiſe dying by a little ſleep,
Thou at this midnight ſeeſt me.

IT muſt be however confeſſed of theſe writers, that if they are upon common ſubjects often unneceſſarily and unpoetically ſubtle; yet where ſcholaſtick ſpeculation can be properly admitted, their copiouſneſs and acuteneſs may juſtly be admired. What Cowley has written upon Hope, ſhews an unequalled fertility of invention:

Hope, whoſe weak being ruin'd is,
Alike if it ſucceed, and if it miſs;
Whom good or ill does equally confound,
And both the horns of Fate's dilemma wound.
Vain ſhadow, which doſt vaniſh quite,
Both at full noon and perfect night!
The ſtars have not a poſſibility
Of bleſſing thee;
If things then from their end we happy call,
'Tis Hope is the moſt hopeleſs thing of all.

Hope, thou bold taſter of delight,
Who, whilſt thou ſhould'ſt but taſte, devour'ſt it quite!
Thou bring'ſt us an eſtate, yet leav'ſt us poor,
By clogging it with legacies before!

The joys which we entire ſhould wed,
Come deflower'd virgins to our bed;
Good fortunes without gain imported be,
Such mighty cuſtom's paid to thee:
For joy, like wine, kept cloſe does better taſte;
If it take air before, its ſpirits waſte.

To the following compariſon of a man that travels, and his wife that ſtays at home, with a pair of compaſſes, it may be doubted whether abſurdity or ingenuity has the better claim:

Our two ſouls therefore, which are one,
Though I muſt go, endure not yet
A breach, but an expanſion,
Like gold to airy thinneſs beat.

If they be two, they are two ſo
As ſtiff twin-compaſſes are two,
Thy ſoul the fixt foot, makes no ſhow
To move, but doth, if th' other do.

And though it in the centre ſit,
Yet when the other far doth roam,
It leans, and hearkens after it,
And grows erect, as that comes home.

Such wilt thou be to me, who muſt
Like th' other foot, obliquely run.

Thy fcanneſs makes my circle juſt,
And makes me end where I begun.

DONNE.

In all theſe examples it is apparent, that whatever is improper or vicious, is produced by a voluntary deviation from nature in purſuit of ſomething new and ſtrange; and that the writers fail, to give delight, by their deſire of exciting admiration.

HAVING thus endeavoured to exhibit a general repreſentation of the ſtyle and ſentiments of the metaphyſical poets, it is now proper to examine particularly the works of Cowley, who was almoſt the laſt of that race, and undoubtedly the beſt.

His Miſcellanies contain a collection of ſhort compoſitions, written ſome as they were dictated by a mind at leiſure, and ſome as they were called forth by different occaſions; with great variety of ſtyle and ſentiment, from burleſque levity to awful grandeur. Such an aſſemblage of diverſified excellence no other poet has hitherto afforded. To chooſe the beſt, among many good, is one of the moſt

Thy firmneſs makes my circle juſt,
And makes me end where I begun.

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hazardous attempts of criticiſm. I know not whether Scaliger himſelf has perſuaded many readers to join with him in his preference of the two favourite odes, which he eſtimates in his raptures at the value of a kingdom. I will however venture to recommend Cowley's firſt piece, which ought to be inſcribed *To my muſe*, for want of which the ſecond couplet is without reference. When the title is added, there will ſtill remain a defect; for every piece ought to contain in itſelf whatever is neceſſary to make it intelligible. Pope has ſome epitaphs without names; which are therefore epitaphs to be let, occupied indeed for the preſent, but hardly appropriated.

The ode on Wit is almoſt without a rival. It was about the time of Cowley that *Wit*, which had been till then uſed for *Intellection*, in contradiſtinction to *Will*, took the meaning, whatever it be, which it now bears.

Of all the paſſages in which poets have exemplified their own precepts, none will eaſily be found of greater excellence than that in which Cowley condemns exuberance of Wit:

Yet

Yet 'tis not to adorn and gild each part,
That ſhews more coſt than art.
Jewels at noſe and lips but ill appear;
Rather than all things wit, let none be there.
Several lights will not be ſeen,
If there be nothing elſe between.
Men doubt, becauſe they ſtand ſo thick i'th' ſky,
If thoſe be ſtars which paint the galaxy.

In his verſes to lord Falkland, whom every man of his time was proud to praiſe, there are, as there muſt be in all Cowley's compoſitions, ſome ſtriking thoughts; but they are not well wrought. His elegy on Sir Henry Wotton is vigorous and happy, the ſeries of thoughts is eaſy and natural, and the concluſion, though a little weakened by the intruſion of Alexander, is elegant and forcible.

It may be remarked, that in this Elegy, and in moſt of his encomiaſtic poems, he has forgotten or neglected to name his heroes.

In his poem on the death of Hervey, there is much praiſe, but little paſſion, a very juſt and ample delineation of ſuch virtues as a ſtu-

dious privacy admits, and ſuch intellectual excellence as a mind not yet called forth to action can diſplay. He knew how to diſtinguiſh, and how to commend the qualities of his companion; but when he wiſhes to make us weep, he forgets to weep himſelf, and diverts his ſorrow by imagining how his crown of bays, if he had it, would *crackle* in the *fire*. It is the odd fate of this thought to be worſe for being true. The bay-leaf crackles remarkably as it burns; as therefore this property was not aſſigned it by chance, the mind muſt be thought ſufficiently at eaſe that could attend to ſuch minuteneſs of phyſiology. But the power of Cowley is not ſo much to move the affections, as to exerciſe the underſtanding.

The *Chronicle* is a compoſition unrivalled and alone: ſuch gaiety of fancy, ſuch facility of expreſſion, ſuch varied ſimilitude, ſuch a ſucceſſion of images, and ſuch a dance of words, it is vain to expect except from Cowley. His ſtrength always appears in his agility; his volatility is not the flutter of a light, but the bound of an elaſtick mind. His levity never leaves his learning behind it;

it; the moraliſt, the politician, and the critick, mingle their influence even in this airy frolick of genius. To ſuch a performance Suckling could have brought the gaiety, but not the knowledge; Dryden could have ſupplied the knowledge, but not the gaiety.

The verſes to Davenant, which are vigorouſly begun, and happily concluded, contain ſome hints of criticiſm very juſtly conceived and happily expreſſed. Cowley's critical abilities have not been ſufficiently obſerved: the few deciſions and remarks which his prefaces and his notes on the Davideis ſupply, were at that time acceſſions to Engliſh literature, and ſhew ſuch ſkill as raiſes our wiſh for more examples.

The lines from Jerſey are a very curious and pleaſing ſpecimen of the familiar deſcending to the burleſque.

His two metrical diſquiſitions *for* and *againſt* Reaſon, are no mean ſpecimens of metaphyſical poetry. The ſtanzas againſt knowledge produce little conviction. In thoſe which are intended to exalt the human faculties,

culties, Reaſon has its proper taſk aſſigned it; that of judging, not of things revealed, but of the reality of revelation. In the verſes *for* Reaſon is a paſſage which Bentley, in the only Engliſh verſes which he is known to have written, ſeems to have copied, though with the inferiority of an imitator.

The holy Book like the eighth ſphere does ſhine
With thouſand lights of truth divine,
So numberleſs the ſtars that to our eye
It makes all but one galaxy:
Yet Reaſon muſt aſſiſt too; for in ſeas
So vaſt and dangerous as theſe,
Our courſe by ſtars above we cannot know
Without the compaſs too below.

After this ſays Bentley:

Who travels in religious jars,
Truth mix'd with error, clouds with rays,
With Whiſton wanting pyx and ſtars,
In the wide ocean ſinks or ſtrays.

Cowley ſeems to have had, what Milton is believed to have wanted, the ſkill to rate his own performances by their juſt value, and has therefore cloſed his Miſcellanies with the verſes upon Craſhaw, which apparently excel all

COWLEY.

all that have gone before them, and in which there are beauties which common authors may juſtly think not only above their attainment, but above their ambition.

To the Miſcellanies ſucceed the *Anacreontiques*, or paraphraſtical tranſlations of ſome little poems, which paſs, however juſtly, under the name of Anacreon. Of thoſe ſongs dedicated to feſtivity and gaiety, in which even the morality is voluptuous, and which teach nothing but the enjoyment of the preſent day, he has given rather a pleaſing than a faithful repreſentation, having retained their ſpritelineſs, but loſt their ſimplicity. The Anacreon of Cowley, like the Homer of Pope, has admitted the decoration of ſome modern graces, by which he is undoubtedly made more amiable to common readers, and perhaps, if they would honeſtly declare their own perceptions, to far the greater part of thoſe whom courteſy and ignorance are content to ſtyle the Learned.

Theſe little pieces will be found more finiſhed in their kind than any other of Cowley's works. The diction ſhews nothing of the mould of time, and the ſentiments are at no great diſtance

tance from our preſent habitudes of thought. Real mirth muſt be always natural, and nature is uniform. Men have been wiſe in very different modes; but they have always laughed the ſame way.

Levity of thought naturally produced familiarity of language, and the familiar part of language continues long the ſame: the dialogue of comedy, when it is tranſcribed from popular manners and real life, is read from age to age with equal pleaſure. The artifice of inverſion, by which the eſtabliſhed order of words is changed, or of innovation, by which new words or new meanings of words are introduced, is practiſed, not by thoſe who talk to be underſtood, but by thoſe who write to be admired.

The Anacreontiques therefore of Cowley give now all the pleaſure which they ever gave. If he was formed by nature for one kind of writing more than for another, his power ſeems to have been greateſt in the familiar and the feſtive.

The

The next claſs of his poems is called *The Miſtreſs*, of which it is not neceſſary to ſelect any particular pieces for praiſe or cenſure. They have all the ſame beauties and faults, and nearly in the ſame proportion. They are written with exuberance of wit, and with copiouſneſs of learning; and it is truly aſſerted by Sprat, that the plenitude of the writer's knowledge flows in upon his page, ſo that the reader is commonly ſurpriſed into ſome improvement. But, conſidered as the verſes of a lover, no man that has ever loved will much commend them. They are neither courtly nor pathetick, have neither gallantry nor fondneſs. His praiſes are too far-ſought, and too hyperbolical, either to expreſs love, or to excite it: every ſtanza is crouded with darts and flames, with wounds and death, with mingled ſouls, and with broken hearts.

The principal artifice by which *The Miſtreſs* is filled with conceits is very copiouſly diſplayed by Addiſon. Love is by Cowley, as by other poets, expreſſed metaphorically by flame and fire; and that which is true of

real fire is ſaid of love, or figurative fire, the ſame word in the ſame ſentence retaining both ſignifications. Thus, "obſerving the "cold regard of his miſtreſs's eyes, and at "the ſame time their power of producing "love in him, he conſiders them as burning-"glaſſes made of ice. Finding himſelf able "to live in the greateſt extremities of love, "he concludes the torrid zone to be habi-"table. Upon the dying of a tree, on which "he had cut his loves, he obſerves, that his "flames had burnt up and withered the "tree."

Theſe conceits Addiſon calls mixed wit; that is, wit which conſiſts of thoughts true in one ſenſe of the expreſſion, and falſe in the other. Addiſon's repreſentation is ſufficiently indulgent. That confuſion of images may entertain for a moment; but being unnatural, it ſoon grows weariſome. Cowley delighted in it, as much as if he had invented it; but, not to mention the ancients, he might have found it full-blown in modern Italy.

Aſpice

Aſpice quam variis diſtringar Leſbia curis,
Uror, & heu! noſtro manat ab igne liquor;
Sum Nilus, ſumque Ætna ſimul; reſtringite flammas
O lacrimæ, aut lacrimas ebibe flamma meas.

One of the ſevere theologians of that time cenſured him as having publiſhed *a book of profane and laſcivious Verſes*. From the charge of profaneneſs, the conſtant tenour of his life, which ſeems to have been eminently virtuous, and the general tendency of his opinions, which diſcover no irreverence of religion, muſt defend him; but that the accuſation of laſciviouſneſs is unjuſt, the peruſal of his works will ſufficiently evince.

Cowley's *Miſtreſs* has no power of ſeduction; "ſhe plays round the head, but comes not at the heart." Her beauty and abſence, her kindneſs and cruelty, her diſdain and inconſtancy, produce no correſpondence of emotion. His poetical account of the virtues of plants, and colours of flowers, is not peruſed with more ſluggiſh frigidity. The compoſitions are ſuch as might have been written for penance by a hermit, or for hire by a philoſophical

cal rhymer who had only heard of another ſex; for they turn the mind only on the writer, whom, without thinking on a woman but as the ſubject for his taſk, we ſometimes eſteem as learned, and ſometimes deſpiſe as trifling, always admire as ingenious, and always condemn as unnatural.

The Pindarique Odes are now to be conſidered; a ſpecies of compoſition, which Cowley thinks Pancirolus might have counted *in his liſt of the loſt inventions of antiquity*, and which he has made a bold and vigorous attempt to recover.

The purpoſe with which he has paraphraſed an Olympick and Nemeæan Ode, is by himſelf ſufficiently explained. His endeavour was, not to ſhew *preciſely what Pindar ſpoke, but his manner of ſpeaking.* He was therefore not at all reſtrained to his expreſſions, nor much to his ſentiments; nothing was required of him, but not to write as Pindar would not have written.

Of the Olympick Ode the beginning is, I think, above the original in elegance, and the concluſion below it in ſtrength. The con-

connection is ſupplied with great perſpicuity, and the thoughts, which to a reader of leſs ſkill ſeem thrown together by chance, are concatenated without any abruption. Though the Engliſh ode cannot be called a tranſlation, it may be very properly conſulted as a commentary.

The ſpirit of Pindar is indeed not every where equally preſerved. The following pretty lines are not ſuch as his *deep mouth* was uſed to pour:

Great Rhea's ſon,
If in Olympus' top where thou
Sitt'ſt to behold thy ſacred ſhow,
If in Alpheus' ſilver flight,
If in my verſe thou take delight,
My verſe, great Rhea's ſon, which is
Lofty as that, and ſmooth as this.

In the Nemeæan ode the reader muſt, in mere juſtice to Pindar, obſerve that whatever is ſaid of *the original new moon, her tender forehead and her horns*, is ſuperadded by his paraphraſt, who has many other plays of words and fancy unſuitable to the original, as,

The table, free for every gueſt,
No doubt will thee admit,
And feaſt more upon thee, than thou on it.

He ſometimes extends his author's thoughts without improving them. In the Olympionick an oath is mentioned in a ſingle word, and Cowley ſpends three lines in ſwearing by the *Caſtalian Stream*. We are told of Theron's bounty, with a hint that he had enemies, which Cowley thus enlarges in rhyming proſe:

But in this thankleſs world the giver
Is envied even by the receiver;
'Tis now the cheap and frugal faſhion
Rather to hide than own the obligation:
Nay, 'tis much worſe than ſo;
It now an artifice does grow
Wrongs and injuries to do,
Leſt men ſhould think we owe.

It is hard to conceive that a man of the firſt rank in learning and wit, when he was dealing out ſuch minute morality in ſuch feeble diction, could imagine, either waking or dreaming, that he imitated Pindar.

In

The table, free for every guest,
No doubt will thee admit;
And feast more upon thee, than thou on it.

He sometimes extends his author's thought without improving them. In the Olympics nick an ostrich is mentioned in a single word, and Cowley spends three lines in swearing by the *Castalian Stream*. We are told of Theron's bounty, with a hint that he had enemies, which Cowley thus enlarges to rhyming prose:

But in this thankless world the giver
Is envied even by the receiver:
'Tis now the cheap and frugal fashion
Rather to hide than own the obligation:
Nay, 'tis much worse than so;
It now an artifice does grow
Wrongs and injuries to do,
Lest men should think we owe.

It is hard to conceive that a man of the first rank in learning and wit, when he was dealing out such unbounded panegyrick as this feeble diction could imagine, was writing or dreaming, that he imitated Pindar.

In the following odes, where Cowley chooſes his own ſubjects, he ſometimes riſes to dignity truly Pindarick, and, if ſome deficiencies of language be forgiven, his ſtrains are ſuch as thoſe of the Theban bard were to his contemporaries:

Begin the ſong, and ſtrike the living lyre:
Lo how the years to come, a numerous and
well-fitted quire,
All hand in hand do decently advance,
And to my ſong with ſmooth and equal meaſure
dance;
While the dance laſts, how long ſoe'er it be,
My muſick's voice ſhall bear it company;
Till all gentle notes be down'd
In the laſt trumpet's dreadful ſound.

After ſuch enthuſiaſm, who will not lament to find the poet conclude with lines like theſe!

But ſtop, my Muſe—
Hold thy Pindarick Pegaſus cloſely in,
Which does to rage begin—
—'Tis an unruly and a hard-mouth'd horſe—
'Twill no unſkilful touch endure,
But flings writer and reader too that ſits not ſure.

The fault of Cowley, and perhaps of all the writers of the metaphyſical race, is that of purſuing his thoughts to their laſt ramifications, by which he loſes the grandeur of generality; for of the greateſt things the parts are little; what is little can be but pretty, and by claiming dignity becomes ridiculous. Thus all the power of deſcription is deſtroyed by a ſcrupulous enumeration; and the force of metaphors is loſt, when the mind by the mention of particulars is turned more upon the original than the ſecondary ſenſe, more upon that from which the illuſtration is drawn than that to which it is applied.

Of this we have a very eminent example in the ode intituled *The Muſe*, who goes to *take the air* in an intellectual chariot, to which he harneſſes Fancy and Judgement, Wit and Eloquence, Memory and Invention: how he diſtinguiſhed Wit from Fancy, or how Memory could properly contribute to Motion, he has not explained; we are however content to ſuppoſe that he could have juſtified his own fiction, and wiſh too ſee the Muſe

Muſe begin her career; but there is yet more to be done.

Let the *poſtilion* Nature mount, and let
The *coachman* Art be ſet;
And let the airy *footmen*, running all beſide,
Make a long row of goodly pride;
Figures, conceits, raptures, and ſentences,
In a well-worded dreſs,
And innocent loves, and pleaſant truths, and
uſeful lies,
In all their gaudy *liveries*.

Every mind is now diſguſted with this cumber of magnificence; yet I cannot refuſe myſelf the four next lines:

Mount, glorious queen, thy travelling throne,
And bid it to put on;
For long though cheerful is the way,
And life alas allows but one ill winter's day.

In the ſame ode, celebrating the power of the Muſe, he gives her preſcience, or, in poetical language, the foreſight of events hatching in futurity; but having once an egg in his mind, he cannot forbear to ſhew us that he knows what an egg contains:

Thou into the cloſe neſts of Time doſt peep,
And there with piercing eye
Through the firm ſhell and the thick white doſt ſpy
Years to come a-forming lie,
Cloſe in their ſacred fecundine aſleep.

The ſame thought is more generally, and therefore more poetically, expreſſed by Caſimir, a writer who has many of the beauties and faults of Cowley:

Omnibus mundi Dominator horis
Aptat urgendas per inane pennas,
Pars adhuc nido latet, & futuros
Creſcit in annos.

Cowley, whatever was his ſubject, ſeems to have been carried, by a kind of deſtiny, to the light and the familiar, or to conceits which require ſtill more ignoble epithets. A ſlaughter in the Red Sea, *new dies the waters name*; and England, during the Civil War, was *Albion no more, nor to be named from white.* It is ſurely by ſome faſcination not eaſily ſurmounted, that a writer profeſſing to revive *the nobleſt and higheſt writing in verſe*, makes this addreſs to the new year:

Nay, if thou 'lt use, gentle year,
Let not so much as love be there,
Vain fruitless love I mean; for, gentle year,
Although I fear,
There's of this caution little need,
Yet, gentle year, take heed
How thou dost make
Such a mistake;
Such love I mean alone
As by thy cruel predeceſſors has been ſhewn;
For, though I have too much cauſe to doubt it,
I fain would try, for once, if life can live without it.

The reader of this will be inclined to cry out with Prior—

——*Ye Criticks, ſay,*
How poor to this was Pindar's ſtyle!

Even thoſe who cannot perhaps find in the Iſthmian or Nemeæan ſongs what Antiquity has diſpoſed them to expect, will at leaſt ſee that they are ill repreſented by ſuch paltry ſtuff; and all will determine that if this be the old Theban ſtrain, it is not worthy of revival.

TO COWLEY.

Thou into the cloſe nefts of Time doſt peep,
And there with piercing eye
Through the firm ſhell and the thick white
doſt ſpy
Years to come a-forming lie,
Cloſe in their ſacred fecundine aſleep.

The ſame thought is more generally, and therefore more poetically, expreſſed by Caſimir, a writer who has many of the beauties and faults of Cowley:

Omnibus mundi Dominator horis
Aptat ergendas per inane pennas,
Pars adhuc nido latet, & futuros
Creſcit in annos.

Cowley, whatever was his ſubject, ſeems to have been carried, by a kind of deſtiny, to the light and the familiar, or to conceits which require ſtill more ignoble epithets. A ſlaughter in the Red Sea, *new dies the waters name*; and England, during the Civil War, was *Albion no more, nor to be named from white*. It is ſurely by ſome faſcination not eaſily ſurmounted, that a writer profeſſing to reject *the noble and higheſt writing in verſe*, makes this addreſs to the new year:

Nay, if thou lov'ſt me, gentle year,
Let not ſo much as love be there,
Vain fruitleſs love I mean; for, gentle year,
Although I fear,
There's of this caution little need,
Yet, gentle year, take heed
How thou doſt make
Such a miſtake;
Such love I mean alone
As by thy cruel predeceſſors has been ſhewn;
For, though I have too much cauſe to doubt it,
I fain would try, for once, if life can live without it.

The reader of this will be inclined to cry out with Prior—

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How poor to this was Pindar's ſtyle!

Even thoſe who cannot perhaps find in the Iſthmian or Nemeæan ſongs what Antiquity has diſpoſed them to expect, will at leaſt ſee that they are ill repreſented by ſuch puny poetry; and all will determine that if this be the old Theban ſtrain, it is not worthy of revival.

To the diſproportion and incongruity of Cowley's ſentiments muſt be added the uncertainty and looſeneſs of his meaſures. He takes the liberty of uſing in any place a verſe of any length, from two ſyllables to twelve. The verſes of Pindar have, as he obſerves, very little harmony to a modern ear; yet by examining the ſyllables we perceive them to be regular, and have reaſon enough for ſuppoſing that the ancient audiences were delighted with the ſound. The imitator ought therefore to have adopted what he found, and to have added what was wanting; to have preſerved a conſtant return of the ſame numbers, and to have ſupplied ſmoothneſs of tranſition and continuity of thought.

It is urged by Dr. Sprat, that the *irregularity of numbers is the very thing* which makes *that kind of poeſy fit for all manner of ſubjects.* But he ſhould have remembered, that what is fit for every thing can fit nothing well. The great pleaſure of verſe ariſes from the known meaſure of the lines, and uniform ſtructure of the ſtanzas, by which the voice is regulated, and the memory relieved.

If

If the Pindarick ſtyle be, what Cowley thinks it, *the higheſt and nobleſt kind of writing in verſe*, it can be adapted only to high and noble ſubjects; and it will not be eaſy to reconcile the poet with the critick, or to conceive how that can be the higheſt kind of writing in verſe, which, according to Sprat, *is chiefly to be preferred for its near affinity to proſe.*

This lax and lawleſs verſification ſo much concealed the deficiencies of the barren, and flattered the lazineſs of the idle, that it immediately overſpread our books of poetry; all the boys and girls caught the pleaſing faſhion, and they that could do nothing elſe could write like Pindar. The rights of antiquity were invaded, and diſorder tried to break into the Latin: a poem on the Sheldonian Theatre, in which all kinds of verſe are ſhaken together, is unhappily inſerted in the *Muſæ Anglicanæ*. Pindariſm prevailed above half a century; but at laſt died gradually away, and other imitations ſupply its place.

The

The Pindarique Odes have ſo long enjoyed the higheſt degree of poetical reputation, that I am not willing to diſmiſs them with unabated cenſure: and ſurely though the mode of their compoſition be erroneous, yet many parts deſerve at leaſt that admiration which is due to great comprehenſion of knowledge, and great fertility of fancy. The thoughts are often new, and often ſtriking; but the greatneſs of one part is diſgraced by the littleneſs of another; and total negligence of language gives the nobleſt conceptions the appearance of a fabric auguſt in the plan, but mean in the materials. Yet ſurely thoſe verſes are not without a juſt claim to praiſe; of which it may be ſaid with truth, that no man but Cowley could have written them.

The Davideis now remains to be conſidered; a poem which the author deſigned to have extended to twelve books, merely, as he makes no ſcruple of declaring, becauſe the Æneid had that number; but he had leiſure or perſeverance only to write the third part. Epick poems have been left unfiniſhed by Virgil, Statius, Spenſer, and Cowley. That

we

we have not the whole Davideis is, however, not much to be regretted; for in this unfinished Cowley is nearly at least, confeſſed to have miſcarried. There are not many examples of ſo great a work, produced by an author generally read, and generally praiſed, that has crept through a century with ſo little regard. Whatever is ſaid of Cowley, is meant of his other works. Of the Davideis no mention is made; it never appears in books, nor emerges in converſation. By the *Spectator* it has once been quoted, by *Rymer* it has once been praiſed, and by *Dryden*, in Mac Flecknoe, it has once been imitated; nor do I recollect much other notice from its publication till now, in the whole ſucceſſion of Engliſh literature.

Of this ſilence and neglect, if the reaſon be inquired, it will be found partly in the choice of the ſubject, and partly in the performance of the work.

Sacred Hiſtory has been always read with ſomething of reverence, and an imagination captivated and controlled. We have been accuſtomed to acquieſce in the nakedneſs and ſimplicity

we have not the whole Davideis is, however, not much to be regretted; for in this undertaking Cowley is, tacitly at leaſt, confeſſed to have miſcarried. There are not many examples of ſo great a work, produced by an author generally read, and generally praiſed, that has crept through a century with ſo little regard. Whatever is ſaid of Cowley, is meant of his other works. Of the Davideis no mention is made; it never appears in books, nor emerges in converſation. By the *Spectator* it has once been quoted, by *Rymer* it has once been praiſed, and by *Dryden*, in Mac Flecknoe, it has once been imitated; nor do I recollect much other notice from its publication till now, in the whole ſucceſſion of Engliſh literature.

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ſimplicity of the authentick narrative, and to repoſe on its veracity with ſuch humble confidence, as ſuppreſſes curioſity. We go with the hiſtorian as he goes, and ſtop with him when he ſtops. All amplification is frivolous and vain; all addition to that which is already ſufficient for the purpoſes of religion, ſeems not only uſeleſs, but in ſome degree profane.

Such events as were produced by the viſible interpoſition of Divine Power are above the power of human genius to dignify. The miracle of Creation, however it may teem with images, is beſt deſcribed with little diffuſion of language: *He ſpake the word, and they were made.*

We are told that Saul *was troubled with an evil ſpirit*; from this Cowley takes an opportunity of deſcribing hell, and telling the hiſtory of Lucifer, who was, he ſays,

Once general of a gilded hoſt of ſprites,
Like Heſper leading forth the ſpangled nights;
But down like lightning, which him ſtruck, he came,
And roar'd at his firſt plunge into the flame.

Lucifer

Lucifer makes a ſpeech to the inferior agents of miſchief, in which there is ſomething of heatheniſm, and therefore of impropriety; and, to give efficacy to his words, concludes by laſhing *his breaſt with his long tail.* Envy, after a pauſe, ſteps out, and among other declarations of her zeal utters theſe lines:

Do thou but threat, loud ſtorms ſhall make reply,
And thunder echo to the trembling ſky.
Whilſt raging ſeas ſwell to ſo bold an height,
As ſhall the fire's proud element affright.
Th' old drudging Sun, from his long-beaten way,
Shall at thy voice ſtart, and miſguide the day.
The jocund orbs ſhall break their meaſur'd pace,
And ſtubborn Poles change their allotted place.
Heaven's gilded troops ſhall flutter here and there,
Leaving their boaſting ſongs tun'd to a ſphere.

Every reader feels himſelf weary with this uſeleſs talk of an allegorical Being.

It

It is not only when the events are confeſſedly miraculous, that fancy and fiction loſe their effect: the whole ſyſtem of life, while the Theocracy was yet viſible, has an appearance ſo different from all other ſcenes of human action, that the reader of the Sacred Volume habitually conſiders it as the peculiar mode of exiſtence of a diſtinct ſpecies of mankind, that lived and acted with manners uncommunicable; ſo that it is difficult even for imagination to place us in the ſtate of them whoſe ſtory is related, and by conſequence their joys and griefs are not eaſily adopted, nor can the attention be often intereſted in any thing that befals them.

To the ſubject, thus originally indiſpoſed to the reception of poetical embelliſhments, the writer brought little that could reconcile impatience, or attract curioſity. Nothing can be more diſguſting than a narrative ſpangled with conceits, and conceits are all that the Davideis ſupplies.

One of the great ſources of poetical delight is deſcription, or the power of preſenting

ing pictures to the mind. Cowley gives inferences inſtead of images, and ſhews not what may be ſuppoſed to have been ſeen, but what thoughts the ſight might have ſuggeſted. When Virgil deſcribes the ſtone which Turnus lifted againſt Æneas, he fixes the attention on its bulk and weight:

Saxum circumſpicit ingens,
Saxum antiquum, ingens, campo quod forte jacebat
Limes agro poſitus, litem ut diſcerneret arvis.

Cowley ſays of the ſtone with which Cain ſlew his brother,

I ſaw him fling the ſtone, as if he meant
At once his murther and his monument.

Of the ſword taken from Goliah, he ſays,

A ſword ſo great, that it was only fit
To cut off his great head that came with it.

Other poets deſcribe death by ſome of its common appearances; Cowley ſays, with a learned alluſion to ſepulchral lamps real or fabulous,

'Twixt his right ribs deep pierc'd the furious blade,

And

And open'd wide thoſe ſecret veſſels where
Life's light goes out, when firſt they let in air.

But he has alluſions vulgar as well as learned. In a viſionary ſucceſſion of kings:

Joas at firſt does bright and glorious ſhow,
In life's freſh morn his fame does early crow.

Deſcribing an undiſciplined army, after having ſaid with elegance,

His forces ſeem'd no army, but a crowd
Heartleſs, unarm'd, diſorderly, and loud;

he gives them a fit of the ague.

The alluſions however are not always to vulgar things; he offends by exaggeration as much as by diminution:

The king was plac'd alone, and o'er his head
A well-wrought heaven of ſilk and gold was ſpread.

Whatever he writes is always polluted with ſome conceit:

Where the ſun's fruitful beams give metals birth,
Where he the growth of fatal gold does ſee,
Gold, which alone more influence has than he.

In

In one paſſage he ſtarts a ſudden queſtion, to the confuſion of philoſophy:

Ye learned heads, whom ivy garlands grace,
Why does that twining plant the oak embrace?
The oak, for courtſhip moſt of all unfit,
And rough as are the winds that fight with it.

His expreſſions have ſometimes a degree of meanneſs that ſurpaſſes expectation:

Nay, gentle gueſts, he cries, ſince now you're in,
The ſtory of your gallant friend begin.

In a ſimile deſcriptive of the Morning:

As glimmering ſtars juſt at th' approach of day,
Caſhier'd by troops, at laſt drop all away.

The dreſs of Gabriel deſerves attention:

He took for ſkin a cloud moſt ſoft and bright,
That e'er the midday ſun pierc'd through with light,
Upon his cheeks a lively bluſh he ſpread,
Waſh'd from the morning beauties deepeſt red;
An harmleſs flattering meteor ſhone for hair,
And fell adown his ſhoulders with looſe care;
He cuts out a ſilk mantle from the ſkies,
Where the moſt ſprightly azure pleas'd the eyes;

This he with ſtarry vapours ſprinkles all,
Took in their prime ere they grow ripe and fall;
Of a new rainbow, ere it fret or fade,
The choiceſt piece cut out, a ſcarfe is made.

This is a juſt ſpecimen of Cowley's imagery: what might in general expreſſions be great and forcible, he weakens and makes ridiculous by branching it into ſmall parts. That Gabriel was inveſted with the ſofteſt or brighteſt colours of the ſky, we might have been told, and been diſmiſſed to improve the idea in our different proportions of conception; but Cowley could not let us go till he had related where Gabriel got firſt his ſkin, and then his mantle, then his lace, and then his ſcarfe, and related it in the terms of the mercer and taylor.

Sometimes he indulges himſelf in a digreſſion, always conceived with his natural exuberance, and commonly, even where it is not long, continued till it is tedious:

I' th' library a few choice authors ſtood,
Yet 'twas well ſtor'd; for that ſmall ſtore was good;
Writing, man's ſpiritual phyſic, was not then
Itſelf, as now, grown a diſeaſe of men.

Learning

Learning (young virgin) but few ſuitors knew;
The common proſtitute ſhe lately grew,
And with the ſpurious brood loads now the preſs;
Laborious effects of idleneſs.

As the Davideis affords only four books, though intended to conſiſt of twelve, there is no opportunity for ſuch criticiſms as Epick poems commonly ſupply. The plan of the whole work is very imperfectly ſhewn by the third part. The duration of an unfiniſhed action cannot be known. Of characters either not yet introduced, or ſhewn but upon few occaſions, the full extent and the nice diſcriminations cannot be aſcertained. The fable is plainly implex, formed rather from the Odyſſey than the Iliad; and many artifices of diverſification are employed, with the ſkill of a man acquainted with the beſt models. The paſt is recalled by narration, and the future anticipated by viſion: but he has been ſo laviſh of his poetical art, that it is difficult to imagine how he could fill eight books more without practiſing again the ſame modes of diſpoſing his matter; and perhaps the perception of this growing incumbrance inclined him to ſtop. By this abruption, poſterity

loſt more inſtruction than delight. If the continuation of the Davideis can be miſſed, it is for the learning that had been diffuſed over it, and the notes in which it had been explained.

Had not his characters been depraved like every other part by improper decorations, they would have deſerved uncommon praiſe. He gives Saul both the body and mind of a hero:

> His way once choſe, he forward thruſt outright,
> Nor turn'd aſide for danger or delight.

And the different beauties of the lofty Merah and the gentle Michol are very juſtly conceived and ſtrongly painted.

Rymer has declared the Davideis ſuperior to the *Jeruſalem of Taſſo*, "which," ſays he, "the poet, with all his care, has not totally "purged from pedantry." If by pedantry is meant that minute knowledge which is derived from particular ſciences and ſtudies, in oppoſition to the general notions ſupplied by a wide ſurvey of life and nature, Cowley certainly errs, by introducing pedantry far more

more frequently than Taſſo. I know not, indeed, why they ſhould be compared; for the reſemblance of Cowley's work to Taſſo's is only that they both exhibit the agency of celeſtial and infernal ſpirits, in which however they differ widely; for Cowley ſuppoſes them commonly to operate upon the mind by ſuggeſtion; Taſſo repreſents them as promoting or obſtructing events by external agency.

Of particular paſſages that can be properly compared, I remember only the deſcription of Heaven, in which the different manner of the two writers is ſufficiently diſcernible. Cowley's is ſcarcely deſcription, unleſs it be poſſible to deſcribe by negatives; for he tells us only what there is not in heaven. Taſſo endeavours to repreſent the ſplendours and pleaſures of the regions of happineſs. Taſſo affords images, and Cowley ſentiments. It happens, however, that Taſſo's deſcription affords ſome reaſon for Rymer's cenſure. He ſays of the Supreme Being,

Hà ſotto i piedi e fato e la natura
Miniſtri humili, e'l moto, e ch'il miſura.

The ſecond line has in it more of pedantry than perhaps can be found in any other ſtanza of the poem.

In the peruſal of the Davideis, as of all Cowley's works, we find wit and learning unprofitably ſquandered. Attention has no relief; the affections are never moved; we are ſometimes ſurpriſed, but never delighted, and find much to admire, but little to approve. Still however it is the work of Cowley, of a mind capacious by nature, and repleniſhed by ſtudy.

In the general review of Cowley's poetry it will be found, that he wrote with abundant fertility, but negligent or unſkilful ſelection; with much thought; but with little imagery; that he is never pathetick, and rarely ſublime, but always either ingenious or learned, either acute or profound.

It is ſaid by Denham in his elegy,

> To him no author was unknown;
> Yet what he writ was all his own.

This

This wide poſition requires leſs limitation, when it is affirmed of Cowley, than perhaps of any other poet—He read much, and yet borrowed little.

His character of writing was indeed not his own: he unhappily adopted that which was predominant. He ſaw a certain way to preſent praiſe, and not ſufficiently enquiring by what means the ancients have continued to delight through all the changes of human manners, he contented himſelf with a deciduous laurel, of which the verdure in its ſpring was bright and gay, but which time has been continually ſtealing from his brows.

He was in his own time conſidered as of unrivalled excellence. Clarendon repreſents him as having taken a flight beyond all that went before him; and Milton is ſaid to have declared, that the three greateſt Engliſh poets were Spenſer, Shakſpeare, and Cowley.

His manner he had in common with others: but his ſentiments were his own. Upon every ſubject he thought for himſelf; and ſuch was his copiouſneſs of knowledge, that

ſomething at once remote and applicable ruſhed into his mind; yet it is not likely that he always rejected a commodious idea merely becauſe another had uſed it: his known wealth was ſo great, that he might have borrowed without loſs of credit.

In his elegy on Sir Henry Wotton, the laſt lines have ſuch reſemblance to the noble epigram of Grotius upon the death of Scaliger, that I cannot but think them copied from it, though they are copied by no ſervile hand.

One paſſage in his *Miſtreſs* is ſo apparently borrowed from Donne, that he probably would not have written it, had it not mingled with his own thoughts, ſo as that he did not perceive himſelf taking it from another.

Although I think thou never found wilt be,
  Yet I'm reſolv'd to ſearch for thee;
  The ſearch itſelf rewards the pains.
So, though the chymic his great ſecret miſs,
(For neither it in Art nor Nature is)
  Yet things well worth his toil he gains:
  And does his charge and labour pay
With good unſought experiments by the way.

COWLEY.

Some

Some that have deeper digg'd Love's mine than I,
Say, where his centric happineſs doth lie:
I have lov'd, and got, and told;
But ſhould I love, get, tell, till I were old,
I ſhould not find that hidden myſtery;
Oh, 'tis impoſture all:
And as no chymic yet th' elixir got,
But glorifies his pregnant pot,
If by the way to him befal
Some odoriferous thing, or medicinal,
So lovers dream a rich and long delight,
But get a winter-ſeeming ſummer's night.

Jonſon and Donne, as Dr. Hurd remarks, were then in the higheſt eſteem.

It is related by Clarendon, that Cowley always acknowledged his obligation to the learning and induſtry of Jonſon; but I have found no traces of Jonſon in his works: to emulate Donne, appears to have been his purpoſe; and from Donne he may have learned that familiarity with religious images, and that light alluſion to ſacred things, by which readers far ſhort of ſanctity are frequently offended; and which would not be born in the preſent age, when devotion, perhaps not more fervent, is more delicate.

Having

Having produced one paſſage taken by Cowley from Donne, I will recompenſe him by another which Milton ſeems to have borrowed from him. He ſays of Goliah,

His ſpear, the trunk was of a lofty tree,
Which Nature meant ſome tall ſhip's maſt ſhould be.

Milton of Satan,

His ſpear, to equal which the talleſt pine
Hewn on Norwegian hills, to be the maſt
Of ſome great admiral, were but a wand,
He walk'd with.

His diction was in his own time cenſured as negligent. He ſeems not to have known, or not to have conſidered, that words being arbitrary muſt owe their power to aſſociation, and have the influence, and that only, which cuſtom has given them. Language is the dreſs of thought; and as the nobleſt mien, or moſt graceful action, would be degraded and obſcured by a garb appropriated to the groſs employments of ruſticks or mechanicks, ſo the moſt heroick ſentiments will loſe their efficacy, and the moſt ſplendid ideas drop their

their magnificence, if they are conveyed by words uſed commonly upon low and trivial occaſions, debaſed by vulgar mouths, and contaminated by inelegant applications.

Truth indeed is always truth, and reaſon is always reaſon; they have an intrinſick and unalterable value, and conſtitute that intellectual gold which defies deſtruction: but gold may be ſo concealed in baſer matter, that only a chymiſt can recover it; ſenſe may be ſo hidden in unrefined and plebeian words, that none but philoſophers can diſtinguiſh it; and both may be ſo buried in impurities, as not to pay the coſt of their extraction.

The diction, being the vehicle of the thoughts, firſt preſents itſelf to the intellectual eye: and if the firſt appearance offends, a further knowledge is not often ſought. Whatever profeſſes to benefit by pleaſing, muſt pleaſe at once. The pleaſures of the mind imply ſomething ſudden and unexpected; that which elevates muſt always ſurpriſe. What is perceived by ſlow degrees may gratify us with the conſciouſneſs of improvement,

provement, but will never ſtrike with the ſenſe of pleaſure.

Of all this, Cowley appears to have been without knowledge, or without care. He makes no ſelection of words, nor ſeeks any neatneſs of phraſe: he has no elegances either lucky or elaborate; as his endeavours were rather to impreſs ſentences upon the underſtanding than images on the fancy, he has few epithets, and thoſe ſcattered without peculiar propriety or nice adaptation. It ſeems to follow from the neceſſity of the ſubject, rather than the care of the writer, that the diction of his heroick poem is leſs familiar than that of his ſlighteſt writings. He has given not the ſame numbers, but the ſame diction, to the gentle Anacreon and the tempeſtuous Pindar.

His verſification ſeems to have had very little of his care; and if what he thinks be true, that his numbers are unmuſical only when they are ill read, the art of reading them is at preſent loſt; for they are commonly harſh to modern ears. He has indeed many noble lines, ſuch as the feeble care of Waller

Waller never could produce. The bulk of his thoughts ſometimes ſwelled his verſe to unexpected and inevitable grandeur; but his excellence of this kind is merely fortuitous: he ſinks willingly down to his general careleſſneſs, and avoids with very little care either meanneſs or aſperity.

His contractions are often rugged and harſh:

One flings a mountain, and its rivers too
Torn up with't.

His rhymes are very often made by pronouns or particles, or the like unimportant words, which diſappoint the ear, and deſtroy the energy of the line.

His combination of different meaſures is ſometimes diſſonant and unpleaſing; he joins verſes together, of which the former does not ſlide eaſily into the latter.

The words *do* and *did*, which ſo much degrade in preſent eſtimation the line that admits them, were in the time of Cowley little cenſured or avoided; how often he uſed

them, and with how bad an effect, at leaſt to our ears, will appear by a paſſage, in which every reader will lament to ſee juſt and noble thoughts defrauded of their praiſe by inelegance of language:

Where honour or where conſcience *does* not bind,
No other law ſhall ſhackle me;
Slave to myſelf I ne'er will be;
Nor ſhall my future actions be confin'd
By my own preſent mind.
Who by reſolves and vows engag'd *does* ſtand
For days, that yet belong to fate,
Does like an unthrift mortgage his eſtate,
Before it falls into his hand,
The bondman of the cloiſter ſo,
All that he *does* receive *does* always owe.
And ſtill as Time comes in, it goes away,
Not to enjoy, but debts to pay!
Unhappy ſlave, and pupil to a bell!
Which his hours' work as well as hours *does* tell:
Unhappy till the laſt, the kind releaſing knell.

His heroick lines are often formed of monoſyllables; but yet they are ſometimes ſweet and ſonorous.

He ſays of the Meſſiah,

Round the whole earth his dreaded name ſhall
ſound,
And reach to worlds that muſt not yet be found.

In another place, of David,

Yet bid him go ſecurely, when he ſends;
'Tis Saul that is his foe, and we his friends.
The man who has his God, no aid can lack;
And we who bid him go, will bring him back.

Yet amidſt his negligence he ſometimes attempted an improved and ſcientifick verſification; of which it will be beſt to give his own account ſubjoined to this line,

Nor can the glory contain itſelf in th' endleſs
ſpace.

" I am ſorry that it is neceſſary to admo-
" niſh the moſt part of readers, that it is not
" by negligence that this verſe is ſo looſe,
" long, and, as is were, vaſt; it is to paint
" in the number the nature of the thing
" which it deſcribes, which I would have ob-
" ſerved in divers other places of this poem,
" that elſe will paſs for very careleſs verſes:
" as before,

And over-runs the neighb'ring fields with violent
courſe.

" In

" In the ſecond book;

Down a precipice deep, down he caſts them all.—

" —And,

And fell a-down his ſhoulders with looſe care.

" In the third,

Braſs was his helmet, his boots braſs, and o'er
His breaſt a thick plate of ſtrong braſs he wore.

" In the fourth,

Like ſome fair pine-o'er-looking all th' ignobler wood.

" And,

Some from the rocks caſt themſelves down headlong.

" And many more: but it is enough to " inſtance in a few. The thing is, that the " diſpoſition of words and numbers ſhould " be ſuch, as that, out of the order and ſound " of them, the things themſelves may be re- " preſented. This the Greeks were not ſo " accurate as to bind themſelves to; neither " have our Engliſh poets obſerved it, for " aught I can find. The Latins *(qui muſas " colunt ſeveriores)* ſometimes did it, and " their prince, Virgil, always: in whom the " examples are innumerable, and taken no-

" tice

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"tice of by all judicious men, ſo that it is "ſuperfluous to collect them."

I know not whether he has, in many of theſe inſtances, attained the repreſentation or reſemblance that he purpoſes. Verſe can imitate only ſound and motion. A *boundleſs* verſe, a *headlong* verſe, and a verſe of *braſs* or of *ſtrong braſs*, ſeem to compriſe very incongruous and unſociable ideas. What there is peculiar in the ſound of the line expreſſing *looſe care*, I cannot diſcover; nor why the *pine* is *taller* in an Alexandrine than in ten ſyllables.

But, not to defraud him of his due praiſe, he has given one example of repreſentative verſification, which perhaps no other Engliſh line can equal:

Begin, be bold, and venture to be wiſe.
He who defers this work from day to day,
Does on a river's bank expecting ſtay
Till the whole ſtream that ſtopp'd him ſhall be gone,
Which runs, and as it runs, for ever ſhall run on.

Cowley was, I believe, the firſt poet that mingled Alexandrines at pleaſure with the common heroick of ten ſyllables, and from him Dryden borrowed the practice, whether ornamental or licentious. He conſidered the verſe of twelve ſyllables as elevated and majeſtick, and has therefore deviated into that meaſure when he ſuppoſes the voice heard of the Supreme Being.

The Author of the Davideis is commended by Dryden for having written it in couplets, becauſe he diſcovered that any ſtaff was too lyrical for an heroick poem; but this ſeems to have been known before by *May* and *Sandys*, the tranſlators of the Pharſalia and the Metamorphoſes.

In the Davideis are ſome hemiſtichs, or verſes left imperfect by the author, in imitation of Virgil, whom he ſuppoſes not to have intended to complete them: that this opinion is erroneous, may be probably concluded, becauſe this truncation is imitated by no ſubſequent Roman poet; becauſe Virgil himſelf filled up one broken line in the

heat

heat of recitation; becauſe in one the ſenſe is now unfiniſhed; and becauſe all that can be done by a broken verſe, a line interſected by a *cæſura* and a full ſtop will equally effect.

Of triplets in his Davideis he makes no uſe, and perhaps did not at firſt think them allowable; but he appears afterwards to have changed his mind, for in the verſes on the government of Cromwell he inſerts them liberally with great happineſs.

After ſo much criticiſm on his Poems, the Eſſays which accompany them muſt not be forgotten. What is ſaid by Sprat of his converſation, that no man could draw from it any ſuſpicion of his excellence in poetry, may be applied to theſe compoſitions. No author ever kept his verſe and his proſe at a greater diſtance from each other. His thoughts are natural, and his ſtyle has a ſmooth and placid equability, which has never yet obtained its due commendation. Nothing is far-ſought, or hard-laboured; but all is eaſy without feebleneſs, and familiar without groſſneſs.

It has been obſerved by Felton, in his Eſſay on the Claſſicks, that Cowley was beloved by every Muſe that he courted; and that he has rivalled the Ancients in every kind of poetry but tragedy.

It may be affirmed, without any encomiaſtick fervour, that he brought to his poetick labours a mind replete with learning, and that his pages are embelliſhed with all the ornaments which books could ſupply; that he was the firſt who imparted to Engliſh numbers the enthuſiaſm of the greater ode, and the gaiety of the leſs; that he was equally qualified for ſpritely ſallies, and for lofty flights; that he was among thoſe who freed tranſlation from ſervility, and, inſtead of following his author at a diſtance, walked by his ſide; and that if he left verſification yet improvable, he left likewiſe from time to time ſuch ſpecimens of excellence as enabled ſucceeding poets to improve it.

DENHAM.

It has been observed by Felton, in his Essay on the Classicks, that Cowley was beloved by every Muse that he courted; and that he has rivalled the Ancients in every kind of poetry but tragedy.

It may be affirmed, without any prejudiced favour, that he brought to his poetick labours a mind replete with learning, and that his pages are embellished with all the ornaments which books could supply; that he was the first who imparted to English numbers the enthusiasm of the greek ode, and the gaiety of the lefs; that he was equally qualified for sprightly sallies, and for lofty flights; that he was learning those who stood translation from Cowley, and, instead of following his author at a distance, walked by his side; and that if he left versification yet improvable, he left likewise fleets time to fame fuch specimens of excellence as enabled fucceeding poets to improve it.

DENHAM.

OF Sir JOHN DENHAM very little is known but what is related of him by Wood, or by himſelf.

He was born at Dublin in 1615; the only ſon of Sir John Denham, of Little Horſely in Eſſex, then chief baron of the Exchequer in Ireland, and of Eleanor, daughter of Sir Garret Moore baron of Mellefont.

Two years afterwards, his father, being made one of the barons of the Exchequer in England, brought him away from his native country, and educated him in London.

In 1631 he was ſent to Oxford, where he was conſidered "as a dreaming young man,

"given more to dice and cards than ſtudy;" and therefore gave no prognoſticks of his future eminence; nor was ſuſpected to conceal, under ſluggiſhneſs and laxity, a genius born to improve the literature of his country.

When he was, three years afterwards, removed to Lincoln's Inn, he proſecuted the common law with ſufficient appearance of application; yet did not loſe his propenſity to cards and dice; but was very often plundered by gameſters.

Being ſeverely reproved for this folly, he profeſſed, and perhaps believed, himſelf reclaimed; and, to teſtify the ſincerity of his repentance, wrote and publiſhed "An Eſſay upon Gaming."

He ſeems to have divided his ſtudies between law and poetry; for, in 1636, he tranſlated the ſecond book of the Æneid.

Two years after, his father died; and then, notwithſtanding his reſolutions and profeſſions, he returned again to the vice of gaming;

gaming, and loſt ſeveral thouſand pounds that had been left him.

In 1631, he publiſhed "The Sophy." This ſeems to have given him his firſt hold of the publick attention; for Waller remarked, "that he broke out like the Iriſh rebel-"lion threeſcore thouſand ſtrong, when "nobody was aware, or in the leaſt ſuſpect-"ed it:" an obſervatiion which could have had no propriety, had his poetical abilities been known before.

He was after that pricked for ſheriff of Surrey, and made governor of Farnham Caſtle for the king; but he ſoon reſigned that charge, and retreated to Oxford, where, in 1643, he publiſhed "Cooper's Hill."

This poem had ſuch reputation as to excite the common artifice by which envy degrades excellence. A report was ſpread, that the performance was not his own, but that he had bought it of a vicar for forty pounds. The ſame attempt was made to rob Addiſon of his Cato, and Pope of his Eſſay on Criticiſm.

In 1647, the diſtreſſes of the royal family required him to engage in more dangerous employments. He was entruſted by the queen with a meſſage to the king; and, by whatever means, ſo far ſoftened the ferocity of Hugh Peters, that, by his interceſſion, admiſſion was procured. Of the king's condeſcenſion he has given an account in the dedication of his works.

He was afterwards employed in carrying on the king's correſpondence; and, as he ſays, diſcharged this office with great ſafety to the royaliſts: and being accidentally diſcovered by the adverſe party's knowledge of Mr. Cowley's hand, he eſcaped happily both for himſelf and his friends.

He was yet engaged in a greater undertaking. In April 1648, he conveyed James the duke of York from London into France, and delivered him there to the Queen and prince of Wales. This year he publiſhed his tranſlation of "Cato Major."

He

He now reſided in France, as one of the followers of the exiled King; and, to divert the melancholy of their condition, was ſometimes enjoined by his maſter to write occaſional verſes; one of which amuſements was probably his ode or ſong upon the Embaſſy to Poland, by which he and lord Croſts procured a contribution of ten thouſand pounds from the Scotch, that wandered over that kingdom. Poland was at that time very much frequented by itinerant traders, who, in a country of very little commerce and of great extent, where every man reſided on his own eſtate, contributed very much to the accommodation of life, by bringing to every man's houſe thoſe little neceſſaries which it was very inconvenient to want, and very troubleſome to fetch. I have formerly read, without much reflection, of the multitude of Scotchmen that travelled with their wares in Poland; and that their numbers were not ſmall, the ſucceſs of this negotiation gives ſufficient evidence.

About this time, what eſtate the war and the gameſters had left him was ſold, by order

of

of the parliament; and when, in 1652, he returned to England, he was entertained by the earl of Pembroke.

Of the next years of his life there is no account. At the Reſtoration he obtained, that which many miſſed, the reward of his loyalty; being made ſurveyor of the king's buildings, and dignified with the order of the Bath. He ſeems now to have learned ſome attention to money; for Wood ſays, that he got by his place ſeven thouſand pounds.

After the Reſtoration he wrote the poem on Prudence and Juſtice, and perhaps ſome of his other pieces: and as he appears, whenever any ſerious queſtion comes before him, to have been a man of piety, he conſecrated his poetical powers to religion, and made a metrical verſion of the pſalms of David. In this attempt he has failed; but, in ſacred poetry who has ſucceeded?

It might be hoped that the favour of his maſter and eſteem of the publick would now make him happy. But human felicity is

ſhort

He married Miss Brooke
See the Memoirs of Count Grammont.

ſhort and uncertain; a ſecond marriage brought upon him ſo much diſquiet, as for a time diſordered his underſtanding; and Butler lampooned him for his lunacy. I know not whether the malignant lines were then made publick, nor what provocation incited Butler to do that which no provocation can excuſe.

His frenzy laſted not long; and he ſeems to have regained his full force of mind; for he wrote afterwards his excellent poem upon the death of Cowley, whom he was not long to ſurvive; for on the 19th of March, 1668, he was buried by his ſide.

DENHAM is deſervedly conſidered as one of the fathers of Engliſh poetry. "Den-"ham and Waller," ſays Prior, "improved "our verſification, and Dryden perfected it." He has given ſpecimens of various compoſition, deſcriptive, ludicrous, didactick, and ſublime.

He appears to have had, in common with almoſt all mankind, the ambition of being upon proper occaſions *a merry fellow*, and in common with moſt of them to have been by nature, or by early habits, debarred from it. Nothing is leſs exhilarating than the ludicrouſneſs of Denham. He does not fail for want of efforts: he is familiar, he is groſs; but he is never merry, unleſs the "Speech "againſt peace in the cloſe Committee" be excepted. For grave burleſque, however, his imitation of Davenant ſhews him to have been well qualified.

Of his more elevated occaſional poems there is perhaps none that does not deſerve commendation. In the verſes to Fletcher, we have

have an image that has since been often adopted:

"Where'er I flow, I pass with a delight;
"The thirsty earth soaks up my watery store,
"From mines of which the beggar hath no share,
"And leaves the rich man's coffer where it were.
"I scorn the help of heaven's refreshing dew,
"Proud that my parent flood at once I drink and view.
"I ask no tribute from the swelling year;
"Enough for me that Thames his naked pastures clear."

Of this passage Johnson says, "Sir John Denham, who thought on Cooper's Hill, and thought with great labour, produced, after long preparation, this passage, which Waller, who never thought long on any thing, had exhibited before in the Battle of the Summer Islands."

Denham's Cooper's Hill is a poem of considerable merit, and has been highly praised by Pope, Dryden, and Johnson. Pope says, "Denham's Cooper's Hill is the exact standard of good writing; it has all the variety of description, and all the force of reflection, that can be wished in any poem whatever." Dryden says, "Denham's poem is the exact model of heroic poesy for the harmony of numbers; and the majesty of style, which our language is capable of." Johnson says, "Denham's Cooper's Hill is the work which first discovered the true nature of local poetry, and which remains the model to all succeeding writers. Poets describe what they see; but Denham teaches what to choose for description. He raises the dignity of his subject by the moral use which he makes of it; and interests the reader in the contemplation of right and wrong."

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have an image that has ſince been often adopted:

" But whither am I ſtray'd? I need not raiſe
" Trophies to thee from other mens diſpraiſe;
" Nor is thy fame on leſſer ruins built,
" Nor need thy juſter title the foul guilt
" Of eaſtern kings, who, to ſecure their reign,
" Muſt have their brothers, ſons, and kindred
" ſlain."

After Denham, Orrery, in one of his prologues,

" Poets are ſultans, if they had their will;
" For every author would his brother kill."

And Pope,

" Should ſuch a man, too fond to rule alone,
" Bear like the Turk no brother near the
throne."

But this is not the beſt of his little pieces: it is excelled by his poem to Fanſhaw, and his elegy on Cowley.

His praiſe of Fanſhaw's verſion of Guarini, contains a very ſpritely and judicious character of a good tranſlator:

" That

"That ſervile path thou nobly doſt decline,
"Of tracing word by word, and line by line.
"Thoſe are the labour'd births of ſlaviſh brains,
"Not the effect of poetry, but pains;
"Cheap vulgar arts, whoſe narrowneſs affords
"No flight for thoughts, but poorly ſtick at
"words.
"A new and nobler way thou doſt purſue,
"To make tranſlations and tranſlators too.
"They but preſerve the aſhes, thou the flame,
"True to his ſenſe, but truer to his fame."

The excellence of theſe lines is greater, as the truth which they contain was not at that time generally known.

His poem on the death of Cowley was his laſt, and, among his ſhorter works, his beſt performance: the numbers are muſical, and the thoughts are juſt.

COOPER'S HILL is the work that confers upon him the rank and dignity of an original author. He ſeems to have been, at leaſt among us, the author of a ſpecies of compoſition that may be denominated *local poetry*, of which the fundamental ſubject is ſome par-

particular landſchape, to be poetically deſcribed, with the addition of ſuch embelliſhments as may be ſupplied by hiſtorical retroſpection, or incidental meditation.

To trace a new ſcheme of poetry has in itſelf a very high claim to praiſe, and its praiſe is yet more when it is apparently copied by Garth and Pope; after whoſe names little will be gained by an enumeration of ſmaller poets, that have left ſcarce a corner of the iſland not dignified either by rhyme, or blank verſe.

Cooper's Hill, if it be maliciouſly inſpected, will not be found without its faults. The digreſſions are too long, the morality too frequent, and the ſentiments ſometimes ſuch as will not bear a rigorous enquiry.

The four verſes, which, ſince Dryden has commended them, almoſt every writer for a century paſt has imitated, are generally known:

"O could I flow like thee, and make thy ſtream
"My great example, as it is my theme!
"Though

" Though deep, yet clear; though gentle, yet
" not dull;
" Strong without rage, without o'er-flowing
" full."

The lines are in themſelves not perfect; for moſt of the words, thus artfully oppoſed, are to be underſtood ſimply on one ſide of the compariſon, and metaphorically on the other; and if there be any language which does not expreſs intellectual operations by material images, into that language they cannot be tranſlated. But ſo much meaning is comprized in ſo few words; the particulars of reſemblance are ſo perſpicaciouſly collected, and every mode of excellence ſeparated from its adjacent fault by ſo nice a line of limitation; the different parts of the ſentence are ſo accurately adjuſted; and the flow of the laſt couplet is ſo ſmooth and ſweet; that the paſſage, however celebrated, has not been praiſed above its merit. It has beauty peculiar to itſelf, and muſt be numbered among thoſe felicities which cannot be produced at will by wit and labour, but muſt ariſe unexpectedly in ſome hour propitious to poetry.

He

He appears to have been one of the firſt that underſtood the neceſſity of emancipating tranſlation from the drudgery of counting lines and interpreting ſingle words. How much this ſervile practice obſcured the cleareſt and deformed the moſt beautiful parts of the ancient authors, may be diſcovered by a peruſal of our earlier verſions; ſome of them the works of men well qualified, not only by critical knowledge, but by poetical genius, who yet, by a miſtaken ambition of exactneſs, degraded at once their originals and themſelves.

Denham ſaw the better way, but has not purſued it with great ſucceſs. His verſions of Virgil are not pleaſing; but they taught Dryden to pleaſe better. His poetical imitation of Tully on "Old Age" has neither the clearneſs of proſe, nor the ſpritelineſs of poetry.

The "ſtrength of Denham," which Pope ſo emphatically mentions, is to be found in many lines and couplets, which convey much

meaning in few words, and exhibit the ſentiment with more weight than bulk.

On the Thames.

" Though with thoſe ſtreams he no reſemblance
" hold,
" Whoſe foam is amber, and their gravel
" gold;
" His genuine and leſs guilty wealth t' explore,
" Search not his bottom, but ſurvey his ſhore."

On Strafford.

" His wiſdom ſuch, at once it did appear
" Three kingdoms wonder, and three kingdoms
" fear;
" While ſingle he ſtood forth, and ſeem'd, although
" Each had an army, as an equal foe.
" Such was his force of eloquence, to make
" The hearers more concern'd than he that ſpake;
" Each ſeem'd to act that part he came to ſee,
" And none was more a looker on than he;
" So did he move our paſſions, ſome were known
" To wiſh, for the defence, the crime their own.
" Now private pity ſtrove with publick hate,
" Reaſon with rage, and eloquence with fate."

On

On Cowley.

On Cowley.

"To him no author was unknown,
"Yet what he wrote was all his own;
"Horace's wit, and Virgil's ſtate,
"He did not ſteal, but emulate!
"And when he would like them appear,
"Their garb, but not their cloaths, did wear."

As one of Denham's principal claims to the regard of poſterity ariſes from his improvement of our numbers, his verſification ought to be conſidered. It will afford that pleaſure which ariſes from the obſervation of a man of judgement naturally right forſaking bad copies by degrees, and advancing towards a better practice, as he gains more confidence in himſelf.

In his tranſlation of Virgil, written when he was about twenty-one years old, may be ſtill found the old manner of continuing the ſenſe ungracefully from verſe to verſe.

"Then all thoſe
"Who in the dark our fury did eſcape,
"Returning, know our borrow'd arms, and
"ſhape,

" And differing dialect: then their numbers
" ſwell
" And grow upon us; firſt Chorœbus fell
" Before Minerva's altar; next did bleed
" Juſt Ripheus, whom no Trojan did exceed
" In virtue, yet the gods his fate decreed.
" Then Hypanis and Dymas, wounded by
" Their friends; nor thee, Pantheus, thy piety,
" Nor conſecrated mitre, from the ſame
" Ill fate could ſave; my country's funeral
" flame
" And Troy's cold aſhes I atteſt, and call
" To witneſs for myſelf, that in their fall
" No foes, no death, nor danger I declin'd,
" Did, and deſerv'd no leſs, my fate to find."

From this kind of concatenated metre he afterwards refrained, and taught his followers the art of concluding their ſenſe in couplets; which has perhaps been with rather too much conſtancy purſued.

This paſſage exhibits one of thoſe triplets which are not infrequent in this firſt eſſay, but which it is to be ſuppoſed his maturer judgement diſapproved, ſince in his latter works he has totally forborn them.

His

His rhymes are ſuch as ſeem found without difficulty, by following the ſenſe; and are for the moſt part as exact at leaſt as thoſe of other poets, though now and then the reader is ſhifted off with what he can get.

" O how *transform'd!*
" How much unlike that Hector, who *return'd*
" Clad in Achilles' ſpoils!

And again,

" From thence a thouſand leſſer poets *ſprung*,
" Like petty princes from the fall of *Rome*."

Sometimes the weight of rhyme is laid upon a word too feeble to ſuſtain it:

" Troy confounded falls
" From all her glories: if it might have ſtood
" By any power, by this right hand it *ſhou'd*.

" —And though my outward ſtate misfortune
" *hath*
" Depreſt thus low, it cannot reach my faith."

" —Thus by his fraud and our own faith o'er-
" come,
" A feigned tear deſtroys us, againſt *whom*

" Tydides nor Achilles could prevail,
" Nor ten years conflict, nor a thouſand ſail."

He is not very careful to vary the ends of his verſes: in one paſſage the word *die* rhimes three couplets in ſix.

Moſt of theſe petty faults are in his firſt productions, when he was leſs ſkilful, or at leaſt leſs dexterous in the uſe of words; and though they had been more frequent, they could only have leſſened the grace, not the ſtrength of his compoſition. He is one of the writers that improved our taſte, and advanced our language, and whom we ought therefore to read with gratitude, though, having done much, he left much to do.

MILTON.

THE Life of Milton has been already written in ſo many forms, and with ſuch minute enquiry, that I might perhaps more properly have contented myſelf with the addition of a few notes to Mr. Fenton's elegant Abridgement, but that a new narrative was thought neceſſary to the uniformity of this edition.

JOHN MILTON was by birth a gentleman, deſcended from the proprietors of Milton near Thame in Oxfordſhire, one of whom forfeited his eſtate in the times of York and Lancaſter. Which ſide he took I know not; his deſcendant inherited no veneration for the White Roſe.

His grandfather John was keeper of the foreſt of Shotover, a zealous papiſt, who diſinherited his ſon, becauſe he had forſaken the religion of his anceſtors.

His father, John, who was the ſon diſinherited, had recourſe for his ſupport to the profeſſion of a ſcrivener. He was a man eminent for his ſkill in muſick, many of his compoſitions being ſtill to be found; and his reputation in his profeſſion was ſuch, that he grew rich, and retired to an eſtate. He had probably more than common literature, as his ſon addreſſes him in one of his moſt elaborate Latin poems. He married a gentlewoman of the name of Caſton, a Welſh family, by whom he had two ſons, John the poet, and Chriſtopher who ſtudied the law, and adhered, as the law taught him, to the King's party, for which he was awhile perſecuted; but having, by his brother's intereſt, obtained permiſſion to live in quiet, he ſupported himſelf ſo honourably by chamber-practice, that ſoon after the acceſſion of King James, he was knighted and made a Judge; but, his conſtitution being too weak for buſineſs, he retired before any diſreputable compliances became neceſſary.

He had likewiſe a daughter Anne, whom he married with a conſiderable fortune to Edward Philips, who came from Shrewſbury, and

* Warton in Milton's Juvenile Poems p. 434 says "he was not a sizar: his admission thus stands in the register at Christ's College. "Johannes "Milton, filius Johannis institutus fuit in "literarum elementis sub magistro Gill "Gymnasii Paulini præfecto, et admissus est "Pensionarius minor 12° Feb. 1624." But Pensionarius minor is a Pensioner or Commoner, in contra-distinction to a Fellow-Commoner. And he is so entered in the Matriculation-book of the University."

and roſe in the Crown-office to be ſecondary: by him ſhe had two ſons, John and Edward, who were educated by the poet, and from whom is derived the only authentick account of his domeſtick manners.

John, the poet, was born in his father's houſe, at the Spread-Eagle in Bread-ſtreet, Dec. 9, 1608, between ſix and ſeven in the morning. His father appears to have been very ſolicitous about his education; for he was inſtructed at firſt by private tuition under the care of Thomas Young, who was afterwards chaplain to the Engliſh merchants at Hamburgh; and of whom we have reaſon to think well, ſince his ſcholar conſidered him as worthy of an epiſtolary Elegy.

He was then ſent to St. Paul's School, under the care of Mr. Gill; and removed, in the beginning of his ſixteenth year, to Chriſt's College in Cambridge, where he entered a ſizar, Feb. 12, 1624.

He was at this time eminently ſkilled in the Latin tongue; and he himſelf, by annexing the dates to his firſt compoſitions, a boaſt

boaſt of which the learned *Politian* had given him an example, ſeems to commend the earlineſs of his own proficiency to the notice of poſterity. But the products of his vernal fertility have been ſurpaſſed by many, and particularly by his contemporary Cowley. Of the powers of the mind it is difficult to form an eſtimate: many have excelled Milton in their firſt eſſays, who never roſe to works like *Paradiſe Loſt*.

At fifteen, a date which he uſes till he is ſixteen, he tranſlated or verſified two Pſalms, 114 and 136, which he thought worthy of the publick eye; but they raiſe no great expectations: they would in any numerous ſchool have obtained praiſe, but not excited wonder.

Many of his elegies appear to have been written in his eighteenth year, by which it appears that he had then read the Roman authors with very nice diſcernment. I once heard Mr. Hampton, the tranſlator of Polybius, remark what I think is true, that Milton was the firſt Engliſhman who, after the revival of letters, wrote Latin verſes with

claſſick

"The Roxana of Alabaster has been mentioned as a Latin composition equal to the Latin poetry of Milton: whoever but slightly examines it, will find it written in the style & manner of the tragedies of unnatural Seneca. It was printed by the author himself at London 1632. Yet it was written forty years before 1592, & there had been a former printed edition." Dr. J. Warton, in T. Warton's Milton. Jo. p. 441.

claſſick elegance. If any exceptions can be made, they are very few: Haddon and Aſcham, the pride of Elizabeth's reign, however they may have ſucceeded in proſe, no ſooner attempt verſes than they provoke deriſion. If we produced any thing worthy of notice before the elegies of Milton, it was perhaps *Alabaſter's Roxana.*

Of theſe exerciſes which the rules of the Univerſity required, ſome were publiſhed by him in his maturer years. They had been undoubtedly applauded; for they were ſuch as few can perform: yet there is reaſon to ſuſpect that he was regarded in his college with no great fondneſs. That he obtained no fellowſhip is certain; but the unkindneſs with which he was treated was not merely negative. I am aſhamed to relate what I fear is true, that Milton was one of the laſt ſtudents in either univerſity that ſuffered the publick indignity of corporal correction.

It was, in the violence of controverſial hoſtility, objected to him, that he was expelled: this he ſteadily denies, and it was apparently not true; but it ſeems plain from his

his own verſes to *Diodati*, that he had incurred *Ruſtication*; a temporary diſmiſſion into the country, with perhaps the loſs of a term:

Me tenet urbs refluâ quam Thameſis alluit undâ,
Meque nec invitum patria dulcis habet.
Jam nec arundiferum mihi cura reviſere Camum,
Nec dudum *vetiti* me *laris* angit amor.—
Nec duri libet uſque minas perferre magiſtri,
Cæteraque ingenio non ſubeunda meo.
Si ſit hoc *exilium* patrias adiiſſe penates,
Et vacuum curis otia grata ſequi,
Non ego vel *profugi* nomen ſortemve recuſo,
Lætus et *exilii* conditione fruor.

I cannot find any meaning but this, which even kindneſs and reverence can give to the term, *vetiti laris*, "a habitation from which "he is excluded;" or how *exile* can be otherwiſe interpreted. He declares yet more, that he is weary of enduring *the threats of a rigorous maſter, and ſomething elſe, which a temper like his cannot undergo.* What was more than threat was probably puniſhment. This poem, which mentions his *exile*, proves likewiſe that it was not perpetual; for it concludes with a reſolution of returning ſome time to Cam-

bridge. And it may be conjectured from the willingneſs with which he has perpetuated the memory of his exile, that its cauſe was ſuch as gave him no ſhame.

He took both the uſual degrees; that of Batchelor in 1628, and that of Maſter in 1632; but he left the univerſity with no kindneſs for its inſtitution, alienated either by the injudicious ſeverity of his governors, or his own captious perverſeneſs. The cauſe cannot now be known, but the effect appears in his writings. His ſcheme of education, inſcribed to *Hartlib*, ſuperſedes all academical inſtruction, being intended to compriſe the whole time which men uſually ſpend in literature, from their entrance upon grammar, *till they proceed, as it is called, maſters of arts.* And in his Diſcourſe *on the likelieſt Way to remove Hirelings out of the Church*, he ingeniouſly propoſes, that *the profits of the lands forfeited by the act for ſuperſtitious uſes, ſhould be applied to ſuch academies all over the land, where languages and arts may be taught together; ſo that youth may be at once brought up to a competency of learning and an honeſt trade, by which means ſuch of them as had the gift,*

being

being enabled to ſupport themſelves (without tithes) by the latter, may, by the help of the former, become worthy preachers.

One of his objections to academical education, as it was then conducted, is, that men deſigned for orders in the Church were permitted to act plays, *writhing and unboning their clergy limbs to all the antick and diſhoneſt geſtures of Trincalos, buffoons and bawds, proſtituting the ſhame of that miniſtry which they had, or were near having, to the eyes of courtiers and court-ladies, their grooms and mademoiſelles.*

This is ſufficiently peeviſh in a man, who, when he mentions his exile from the college, relates, with great luxuriance, the compenſation which the pleaſures of the theatre afford him. Plays were therefore only criminal when they were acted by academicks.

He went to the univerſity with a deſign of entering into the church, but in time altered his mind; for he declared, that whoever became a clergyman muſt "ſubſcribe ſlave, and "take an oath withal, which, unleſs he took

"with

"with a conſcience that could retch, he muſt "ſtraight perjure himſelf. He thought it "better to prefer a blameleſs ſilence before "the office of ſpeaking, bought and begun "with ſervitude and forſwearing."

Theſe expreſſions are, I find, applied to the ſubſcription of the Articles; but it ſeems more probable that they relate to canonical obedience. I know not any of the Articles which ſeem to thwart his opinions: but the thoughts of obedience, whether canonical or civil, raiſed his indignation.

His unwillingneſs to engage in the miniſtry, perhaps not yet advanced to a ſettled reſolution of declining it, appears in a letter to one of his friends, who had reproved his ſuſpended and dilatory life, which he ſeems to have imputed to an inſatiable curioſity, and fantaſtick luxury of various knowledge. To this he writes a cool and plauſible anſwer, in which he endeavors to perſuade him that the delay proceeds not from the delights of deſultory ſtudy, but from the deſire of obtaining more fitneſs for his taſk; and that he goes

goes on, *not taking thought of being late, ſo it give advantage to be more fit.*

When he left the univerſity, he returned to his father, then reſiding at Horton in Buckinghamſhire, with whom he lived five years; in which time he ſs ſaid to have read all the Greek and Latin writers. With what limitations this univerſality is to be underſtood, who ſhall inform us?

It might be ſuppoſed that he who read ſo much ſhould have done nothing elſe; but Milton found time to write the Maſque of *Comus*, which was preſented at Ludlow, then the reſidence of the Lord Preſident of Wales, in 1634; and had the honour of being acted by the Earl of Bridgewater's ſons and daughter. The fiction is derived from Homer's *Circe*; but we never can refuſe to any modern the liberty of borrowing from Homer;

—a quo ceu fonte perenni
Vatum Pieriis ora rigantur aquis.

His next production was *Lycidas*, an elegy, written in 1637, on the death of Mr. King, the

the ſon of Sir John King, ſecretary for Ireland in the time of Elizabeth, James, and Charles. King was much a favourite at Cambridge, and many of the wits joined to do honour to his memory. Milton's acquaintance with the Italian writers may be diſcovered by a mixture of longer and ſhorter verſes, according to the rules of Tuſcan poetry, and his malignity to the Church by ſome lines which are interpreted as threatening its extermination.

He is ſuppoſed about this time to have written his *Arcades*; for while he lived at Horton he uſed ſometimes to ſteal from his ſtudies a few days, which he ſpent at Harefield, the houſe of the counteſs dowager of Derby, where the *Arcades* made part of a dramatick entertainment.

He began now to grow weary of the country; and had ſome purpoſe of taking chambers in the Inns of Court, when the death of his mother ſet him at liberty to travel, for which he obtained his father's conſent, and Sir Henry Wotton's directions, with the celebrated precept of prudence, *i penſieri ſtretti,*

ed il viſo ſciolto; "thoughts cloſe, and looks "looſe."

In 1638 he left England, and went firſt to Paris; where, by the favour of Lord *Scudamore*, he had the opportunity of viſiting *Grotius*, then reſiding at the French court as ambaſſador from Chriſtina of Sweden. From Paris he haſted into Italy, of which he had with particular diligence ſtudied the language and literature: and, though he ſeems to have intended a very quick perambulation of the country, ſtaid two months at Florence; where he found his way into the academies, and produced his compoſitions with ſuch applauſe as appears to have exalted him in his own opinion, and confirmed him in the hope, that, "by labour and intenſe ſtudy, which," ſays he, "I take to be my portion in this life, "joined with a ſtrong propenſity of nature," he might "leave ſomething ſo written to "after-times, as they ſhould not willingly "let it die."

It appears, in all his writings, that he had the uſual concomitant of great abilities, a lofty and ſteady confidence in himſelf, perhaps

perhaps not without ſome contempt of others; for ſcarcely any man ever wrote ſo much, and praiſed ſo few. Of his praiſe he was very frugal; as he ſet its value high, and conſidered his mention of a name as a ſecurity againſt the waſte of time, and a certain preſervative from oblivion.

At Florence he could not indeed complain that his merit wanted diſtinction. Carlo Dati preſented him with an encomiaſtick inſcription, in the tumid lapidary ſtyle; and Francini wrote him an ode, of which the firſt ſtanza is only empty noiſe; the reſt are perhaps too diffuſe on common topicks: but the laſt is natural and beautiful.

From Florence he went to Sienna, and from Sienna to Rome, where he was again received with kindneſs by the Learned and the Great. Holſtenius, the keeper of the Vatican Library, who had reſided three years at Oxford, introduced him to Cardinal Barberini; and he, at a muſical entertainment, waited for him at the door, and led him by the hand into the aſſembly. Here Selvaggi praiſed him in a diſtich, and Sal-

ſilli in a tetraſtick: neither of them of much value. The Italians were gainers by this literary commerce; for the encomiums with which Milton repaid Salſilli, though not ſecure againſt a ſtern grammarian, turn the balance indiſputably in Milton's favour.

Of theſe Italian teſtimonies, poor as they are, he was proud enough to publiſh them before his poems; though he ſays, he cannot be ſuſpected but to have known that they were ſaid *non tam de ſe, quam ſupra ſe.*

At Rome, as at Florence, he ſtaid only two months; a time indeed ſufficient, if he deſired only to ramble with an explainer of its antiquities, or to view palaces and count pictures; but certainly too ſhort for the contemplation of learning, policy, or manners.

From Rome he paſſed on to Naples, in company of a hermit; a companion from whom little could be expected, yet to him Milton owed his introduction to Manſo marquis of Villa, who had been before the patron of Taſſo. Manſo was enough delighted with his

his accompliſhments to honour him with a ſorry diſtich, in which he commends him for every thing but his religion; and Milton, in return, addreſſed him in a Latin poem, which muſt have raiſed an high opinion of Engliſh elegance and literature.

His purpoſe was now to have viſited Sicily and Greece; but, hearing of the differences between the king and parliament, he thought it proper to haſten home, rather than paſs his life in foreign amuſements while his countrymen were contending for their rights. He therefore came back to Rome, though the merchants informed him of plots laid againſt him by the Jeſuits, for the liberty of his converſations on religion. He had ſenſe enough to judge that there was no danger, and therefore kept on his way, and acted as before, neither obtruding nor ſhunning controverſy. He had perhaps given ſome offence by viſiting Galileo, then a priſoner in the Inquiſition for philoſophical hereſy; and at Naples he was told by Manſo, that, by his declarations on religious queſtions, he had excluded himſelf from ſome diſtinctions which he ſhould otherwiſe have paid him.

But ſuch conduct, though it did not pleaſe, was yet ſufficiently ſafe; and Milton ſtaid two months more at Rome, and went on to Florence without moleſtation.

From Florence he viſited Lucca. He afterwards went to Venice; and having ſent away a collection of muſick and other books, travelled to Geneva, which he probably conſidered as the metropolis of orthodoxy. Here he repoſed, as in a congenial element, and became acquainted with John Diodati and Frederick Spanheim, two learned profeſſors of Divinity. From Geneva he paſſed through France; and came home, after an abſence of a year and three months.

At his return he heard of the death of his friend Charles Diodati; a man whom it is reaſonable to ſuppoſe of great merit, ſince he was thought by Milton worthy of a poem, intituled, *Epitaphium Damonis*, written with the common but childiſh imitation of paſtoral life.

He now hired a lodging at the houſe of one Ruſſel, a taylor in St. Bride's Church-yard,

yard, and undertook the education of John and Edward Philips, his ſiſter's ſons. Finding his rooms too little, he took a houſe and garden in Alderſgate-ſtreet, which was not then ſo much out of the world as it is now; and choſe his dwelling at the upper end of a paſſage, that he might avoid the noiſe of the ſtreet. Here he received more boys, to be boarded and inſtructed.

Let not our veneration for Milton forbid us to look with ſome degree of merriment on great promiſes and ſmall performance, on the man who haſtens home, becauſe his countrymen are contending for their liberty, and, when he reaches the ſcene of action, vapours away his patriotiſm in a private boarding-ſchool. This is the period of his life from which all his biographers ſeem inclined to ſhrink. They are unwilling that Milton ſhould be degraded to a ſchool-maſter; but, ſince it cannot be denied that he taught boys, one finds out that he taught for nothing, and another that his motive was only zeal for the propagation of learning and virtue; and all tell what they do not know to be true, only to excuſe an act which no wiſe man will con-

ſider as in itſelf diſgraceful. His father was alive; his allowance was not ample; and he ſupplied its deficiences by an honeſt and uſeful employment.

It is told, that in the art of education he performed wonders; and a formidable liſt is given of the authors, Greek and Latin, that were read in Alderſgate-ſtreet, by youth between ten and fifteen or ſixteen years of age. Thoſe who tell or receive theſe ſtories ſhould conſider that nobody can be taught faſter than he can learn. The ſpeed of the horſeman muſt be limited by the power of his horſe. Every man, that has ever undertaken to inſtruct others, can tell what ſlow advances he has been able to make, and how much patience it requires to recall vagrant inattention, to ſtimulate ſluggiſh indifference, and to rectify abſurd miſapprehenſion.

The purpoſe of Milton, as it ſeems, was to teach ſomething more ſolid than the common literature of Schools, by reading thoſe authors that treat of phyſical ſubjects; ſuch as the Georgick, and aſtronomical treatiſes of the ancients. This was a ſcheme of improvement

ment which ſeems to have buſied many literary projectors of that age. Cowley, who had more means than Milton of knowing what was wanting to the embelliſhments of life, formed the ſame plan of education in his imaginary College.

But the truth is, that the knowledge of external nature, and the ſciences which that knowledge requires or includes, are not the great or the frequent buſineſs of the human mind. Whether we provide for action or converſation, whether we wiſh to be uſeful or pleaſing, the firſt requiſite is the religious and moral knowledge of right and wrong; the next is an acquaintance with the hiſtory of mankind, and with thoſe examples which may be ſaid to embody truth, and prove by events the reaſonableneſs of opinions. Prudence and Juſtice are virtues, and excellences, of all times and of all places; we are perpetually moraliſts, but we are geometricians only by chance. Our intercourſe with intellectual nature is neceſſary; our ſpeculations upon matter are voluntary, and at leiſure. Phyſiological learning is of ſuch rare emergence, that one man may know another

ther half his life without being able to eſtimate his ſkill in hydroſtaticks or aſtronomy; but his moral and prudential character immediately appears.

Thoſe authors, therefore, are to be read at ſchools that ſupply moſt axioms of prudence, moſt principles of moral truth, and moſt materials for converſation; and theſe purpoſes are beſt ſerved by poets, orators, and hiſtorians.

Let me not be cenſured for this digreſſion as pedantick or paradoxical; for if I have Milton againſt me, I have Socrates on my ſide. It was his labour to turn philoſophy from the ſtudy of nature to ſpeculations upon life; but the innovators whom I oppoſe are turning off attention from life to nature. They ſeem to think, that we are placed here to watch the growth of plants, or the motions of the ſtars. Socrates was rather of opinion, that what we had to learn was, how to do good, and avoid evil.

Ὅτι τοι ἐν μεγάροισι κακὸν᾽ ἀγαθὸν τέτυκται.

Of his manners we may judge by their effects. From this wonder-working academy, I do not know that there ever proceeded any man very eminent for knowledge: his only genuine product, I believe, is a small History of Poetry, written in Latin by his nephew Philips, of which perhaps none of my readers has ever heard.

That in his school, as in every thing else which he undertook, he laboured with great diligence, there is no reason for doubting. One part of his method deserves general imitation. He was careful to inform his scholars in religion. Every Sunday was spent upon theology, of which he dictated a short system, gathered from the writers that were then fashionable in the Dutch universities.

He let his pupils an example of hard study and spare diet; only now and then he allowed himself to pass a day of festivity and indulgence with some gay gentlemen of Gray's Inn.

Of inſtitutions we may judge by their effects. From this wonder-working academy, I do not know that there ever proceeded any man very eminent for knowledge: its only genuine product, I believe, is a ſmall Hiſtory of Poetry, written in Latin by his nephew Philips, of which perhaps none of my readers has ever heard.

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He

He now began to engage in the controverſies of the times, and lent his breath to blow the flames of contention. In 1641 he publiſhed a treatiſe of *Reformation*, in two books, againſt the eſtabliſhed Church; being willing to help the Puritans, who were, he ſays, *inferior to the Prelates in learning*.

Hall biſhop of Norwich had publiſhed an *Humble Remonſtrance*, in defence of Epiſcopacy; to which, in 1641, ſix miniſters, of whoſe names the firſt letters made the celebrated word *Smectymnuus*, gave their Anſwer. Of this anſwer a Confutation was attempted by the learned *Uſher*; and to the Confutation Milton publiſhed a Reply, intituled, *Of Prelatical Epiſcopacy, and whether it may be deduced from the Apoſtolical Times, by virtue of thoſe teſtimonies which are alledged to that purpoſe in ſome late treatiſes, one whereof goes under the name of James Lord Biſhop of Armagh.*

I have tranſcribed this title, to ſhew, by his contemptuous mention of Uſher, that he had now adopted the puritanical ſavageneſs of manners.

manners. His next work was, *The Reaſon of Church Government urged againſt Prelacy, by Mr. John Milton*, 1642. In this book he diſcovers, not with oſtentatious exultation, but with calm confidence, his high opinion of his own powers; and promiſes to undertake ſomething, he yet knows not what, that may be of uſe and honour to his country. "This," ſays he, "is not to be obtained but "by devout prayer to that Eternal Spirit that "can enrich with all utterance and know-"ledge, and ſends out his Seraphim with the "hallowed fire of his altar, to touch and pu-"rify the lips of whom he pleaſes. To this "muſt be added, induſtrious and ſelect read-"ing, ſteady obſervation, and inſight into all "ſeemly and generous arts and affairs; till "which in ſome meaſure be compaſt, I "refuſe not to ſuſtain this expectation." From a promiſe like this, at once fervid, pious, and rational, might be expected the *Paradiſe Loſt*.

He publiſhed the ſame year two more pamphlets, upon the ſame queſtion. To one of his antagoniſts, who affirms that he was *vomited out of the univerſity*, he anſwers, in

general terms; "The Fellows of the College "wherein I ſpent ſome years, at my parting, "after I had taken two degrees, as the man-"ner is, ſignified many times how much bet-"ter it would content them that I ſhould "ſtay.—As for the common approbation or "diſlike of that place, as now it is, that I "ſhould eſteem or diſeſteem myſelf the more "for that, too ſimple is the anſwerer, if he "think to obtain with me. Of ſmall prac-"tice were the phyſician who could not "judge, by what ſhe and her ſiſter have of "long time vomited, that the worſer ſtuff "ſhe ſtrongly keeps in her ſtomach, but the "better ſhe is ever kecking at, and is queaſy: "ſhe vomits now out of ſickneſs; but before "it be well with her, ſhe muſt vomit by "ſtrong phyſick.—The univerſity, in the "time of her better health, and my younger "judgement, I never greatly admired, but "now much leſs."

This is ſurely the language of a man who thinks that he has been injured. He proceeds to deſcribe the courſe of his conduct, and the train of his thoughts; and, becauſe he has been ſuſpected of incontinence, gives an

an account of his own purity: "That if I "be juſtly charged," ſays he, "with this "crime, it may come upon me with tenfold "ſhame."

The ſtyle of his piece is rough, and ſuch perhaps was that of his antagoniſt. This roughneſs he juſtifies, by great examples, in a long digreſſion. Sometimes he tries to be humorous: "Leſt I ſhould take him for "ſome chaplain in hand, ſome ſquire of the "body to his prelate, one who ſerves not at "the altar only but at the Court-cupboard, "he will beſtow on us a pretty model of "himſelf; and ſets me out half a dozen "ptifical mottos, wherever he had them, "hopping ſhort in the meaſure of convulſion "fits; in which labour the agony of his wit "having ſcaped narrowly, inſtead of well-"ſized periods, he greets us with a quantity "of thumbring poſies.—And thus ends this "ſection, or rather diſſection of himſelf." Such is the controverſial merriment of Milton; his gloomy ſerioufneſs is yet more offenſive. Such is his malignity, *that hell grows darker at his frown.*

His

His father, after Reading was taken by *Eſſex*, came to reſide in his houſe; and his ſchool increaſed. At Whitſuntide, in his thirty-fifth year, he married Mary, the daughter of Mr. Powel, a juſtice of the Peace in Oxfordſhire. He brought her to town with him, and expected all the advantages of a conjugal life. The lady, however, ſeems not much to have delighted in the pleaſures of ſpare diet and hard ſtudy; for, as Philips relates, "having for a month led a philoſo-"phical life, after having been uſed at home "to a great houſe, and much company and "joviality, her friends, poſſibly by her own "deſire, made earneſt ſuit to have her com-"pany the remaining part of the ſummer; "which was granted, upon a promiſe of her "return at Michaelmas."

Milton was too buſy to much miſs his wife: he purſued his ſtudies; and now and then viſited the Lady Magaret Leigh, whom he has mentioned in one of his ſonnets. At laſt Michaelmas arrived; but the Lady had no inclination to return to the ſullen gloom of her huſband's habitation, and therefore very

† "Mr Richard Powell of Forest-hill, a village four miles from Oxford, a gentleman of good family & repute. They were married at Forest-hill in 1643, where the ~~marriage~~ wedding was kept" &c. — After a separation of four years, a happy re-union took place. Mr Powell's mansion still remains, in which Mr Mickle, the ingenious translator of the Lusiad, lately made a search with a view of finding some of Milton's letters or papers. There is an old paper-room, or deserted study in the house, where many obsolete family-writings, with letters to & from Mr Powell, who was a great royalist in the rebellion" &c.

"The Powells were sharers of abbey-land in Oxfordshire. They were seated in the dissolved monastery of Sandford near Oxford, & one of them built the Gothic manorial stone-house, now standing in that village, in the reign of Q. Eliz." &c.

See Warton on Milton, P. L. p. 343.

very willingly forgot her promiſe. He ſent her a letter, but had no anſwer; he ſent more with the ſame ſucceſs. It could be alleged that letters miſcarry; he therefore diſpatched a meſſenger, being by this time too angry to go himſelf. His meſſenger was ſent back with ſome contempt. The family of the Lady were Cavaliers.

In a man whoſe opinion of his own merit was like Milton's, leſs provocation than this might have raiſed violent reſentment. Milton ſoon determined to repudiate her for diſobedience; and, being one of thoſe who could eaſily find arguments to juſtify inclination, publiſhed (in 1644) *The Doctrine and Diſcipline of Divorce*; which was followed by *The Judgement of Martin Bucer, concerning Divorce*; and the next year, his Tetrachordon, *Expoſitions upon the four chief Places of Scripture which treat of Marriage.*

This innovation was oppoſed, as might be expected, by the clergy; who, then holding their famous aſſembly at Weſtminſter, procured that the author ſhould be called before the Lords; "but that Houſe," ſays

Wood, " whether approving the doctrine, " or not favouring his accuſers, did ſoon diſ- " miſs him."

There ſeems not to have been much written againſt him, nor any thing by any writer of eminence. The antagoniſt that appeared is ſtyled by him, *a Serving man turned Solicitor*. *Howel* in his letters mentions the new doctrine with contempt; and it was, I ſuppoſe, thought more worthy of deriſion than of confutation. He complains of this neglect in two ſonnets, of which the firſt is contemptible, and the ſecond not excellent.

From this time it is obſerved that he became an enemy to the Preſbyterians, whom he had favoured before. He that changes his party by his humour, is not more virtuous than he that changes it by his intereſt; he loves himſelf rather than truth.

His wife and her relations now found that Milton was not an unreſiſting ſufferer of injuries; and perceiving that he had begun to put his doctrine in practice, by courting a young woman of great accompliſhments, the daughter

daughter of one Doctor Davis, who was however not ready to comply, they reſolved to endeavour a re-union. He went ſometimes to the houſe of one Blackborough, his relation, in the lane of St. Martin's-le-Grand, and at one of his uſual viſits was ſurpriſed to ſee his wife come from another room, and implore forgiveneſs on her knees. He reſiſted her intreaties for a while; "but partly," ſays Philips, "his own generous nature, "more inclinable to reconciliation than to "perſeverance in anger or revenge, and partly "the ſtrong interceſſion of friends on both "ſides, ſoon brought him to an act of obli-"vion and a firm league of peace." It were injurious to omit, that Milton afterwards received her father and her brothers in his own houſe, when they were diſtreſſed, with other Royaliſts.

He publiſhed about the ſame time his *Areopagitica, a Speech of Mr.* John Milton *for the liberty of unlicenſed Printing.* The danger of ſuch unbounded liberty, and the danger of bounding it, have produced a problem in the ſcience of Government, which human underſtanding ſeems hitherto unable

to ſolve. If nothing may be publiſhed but what civil authority ſhall have previouſly approved, power muſt always be the ſtandard of truth; if every dreamer of innovations may propagate his projects, there can be no ſettlement; if every murmurer at government may diffuſe diſcontent, there can be no peace; and if every ſceptick in theology may teach his follies, there can be no religion. The remedy againſt theſe evils is to puniſh the authors; for it is yet allowed that every ſociety may puniſh, though not prevent, the publication of opinions, which that ſociety ſhall think pernicious; but this puniſhment, though it may cruſh the author, promotes the book; and it ſeems not more reaſonable to leave the right of printing unreſtrained, becauſe writers may be afterwards cenſured, than it would be to ſleep with doors unbolted, becauſe by our laws we can hang a thief.

But whatever were his engagements, civil or domeſtick, poetry was never long out of his thoughts. About this time (1645) a collection of his Latin and Engliſh poems appeared, in which the *Allegro* and *Penſeroſo*, with ſome others, were firſt publiſhed.

He

He had taken a larger houſe in Barbican for the reception of ſcholars; but the numerous relations of his wife, to whom he generouſly granted refuge for a while, occupied his rooms. In time, however, they went away; "and the houſe again," ſays Philips, "now looked like a houſe of the Muſes only, "though the acceſſion of ſcholars was not "great. Poſſibly his having proceeded ſo far "in the education of youth, may have been "the occaſion of his adverſaries calling him "pedagogue and ſchool-maſter; whereas it "is well known he never ſet up for a pub-"lick ſchool, to teach all the young fry of "a pariſh; but only was willing to impart "his learning and knowledge to relations, "and the ſons of gentlemen who were his "intimate friends; and that neither his "writings nor his way of teaching ever ſa-"voured in the leaſt of pedantry."

Thus laborioufly does his nephew extenuate what cannot be denied, and what might be confeſſed without diſgrace. Milton was not a man who could become mean by a mean employment. This, however, his

warmeſt friends ſeem not to have found; they therefore ſhift and palliate. He did not ſell literature to all comers at an open ſhop; he was a chamber-milliner, and meaſured his commodities only to his friends.

Philips, evidently impatient of viewing him in this ſtate of degradation, tells us that it was not long continued; and, to raiſe his character again, has a mind to inveſt him with military ſplendour: "He is much miſtaken," he ſays, "if there was not about this time "a deſign of making him an adjutant-general "in Sir William Waller's army. But the "new modelling of the army proved an ob-"ſtruction to the deſign." An event cannot be ſet at a much greater diſtance than by having been only *deſigned, about ſome time*, if a man *be not much miſtaken.* Milton ſhall be a pedagogue no longer; for, if Philips be not much miſtaken, ſomebody at ſome time deſigned him for a ſoldier.

About the time that the army was new-modelled (1645) he removed to a ſmaller houſe in Holbourn, which opened backward into Lincoln's-Inn-Fields. He is not known

to

to have publiſhed any thing afterwards till the King's death, when, finding his murderers condemned by the Preſbyterians, he wrote a treatiſe to juſtify it, and *to compoſe the minds of the people.*

He made ſome *Remarks on the Articles of Peace between Ormond and the Iriſh Rebels.* While he contented himſelf to write, he perhaps did only what his conſcience dictated; and if he did not very vigilantly watch the influence of his own paſſions, and the gradual prevalence of opinions, firſt willingly admitted and then habitually indulged, if objections, by being overlooked, were forgotten, and deſire ſuperinduced conviction; he yet ſhared only the common weakneſs of mankind, and might be no leſs ſincere than his opponents. But as faction ſeldom leaves a man honeſt, however it might find him, Milton is ſuſpected of having interpolated the book called *Icon Baſilike*, which the Council of State, to whom he was now made Latin ſecretary, employed him to cenſure, by inſerting a prayer taken from *Sidney's Arcadia*, and imputing it to the King; whom he charges, in his *Iconoclaſtes*, with the uſe of

this prayer as with a heavy crime, in the indecent language with which proſperity had emboldened the advocates for rebellion to inſult all that is venerable or great: "Who "would have imagined ſo little fear in him "of the true all-ſeeing Deity—as, imme- "diately before his death, to pop into the "hands of the grave biſhop that attended "him, as a ſpecial relique of his ſaintly "exerciſes, a prayer ſtolen word for word "from the mouth of a heathen woman pray- "ing to a heathen god?"

The papers which the King gave to Dr. Juxon on the ſcaffold the regicides took away, ſo that they were at leaſt the publiſhers of this prayer; and Dr. Birch, who had examined the queſtion with great care, was inclined to think them the forgers. The uſe of it by adaptation was innocent; and they who could ſo noiſily cenſure it, with a little extenſion of their malice could contrive what they wanted to accuſe.

King Charles the Second, being now ſheltered in Holland, employed Salmaſius, profeſſor of Polite Learning at Leyden, to write a de-

a defence of his father and of monarchy; and, to excite his induſtry, gave him, as was reported, a hundred Jacobuſes. Salmaſius was a man of ſkill in languages, knowledge of antiquity, and ſagacity of emendatory criticiſm, almoſt exceeding all hope of human attainment; and having, by exceſſive praiſes, been confirmed in great confidence of himſelf, though he probably had not much conſidered the principles of ſociety or the rights of government, undertook the employment without diſtruſt of his own qualifications; and, as his expedition in writing was wonderful, in 1649 publiſhed *Defenſio Regis*.

To this Milton was required to write a ſufficient anſwer; which he performed (1651) in ſuch a manner, that Hobbes declared himſelf unable to decide whoſe language was beſt, or whoſe arguments were worſt. In my opinion, Milton's periods are ſmoother, neater, and more pointed; but he delights himſelf with teizing his adverſary as much as with confuting him. He makes a fooliſh alluſion of Salmaſius, whoſe doctrine he conſiders as ſervile and unmanly, to the ſtream of *Salmacis*, which whoever entered left half

his virility behind him. Salmaſius was a Frenchman, and was unhappily married to a ſcold. *Tu es Gallus*, ſays Milton, *et, ut aiunt, nimium gallinaceus.* But his ſupreme pleaſure is to tax his adverſary, ſo renowned for criticiſm, with vitious Latin. He opens his book with telling that he has uſed *Perſona*, which, according to Milton, ſignifies only a *Maſk*, in a ſenſe not known to the Romans, by applying it as we apply *Perſon.* But as Nemeſis is always on the watch, it is memorable that he has enforced the charge of a ſoleciſm by an expreſſion in itſelf groſsly ſoleciſtical, when, for one of thoſe ſuppoſed blunders, he ſays, as *Ker*, and I think ſome one before him, has remarked, *propino te grammatiſtis tuis* vapulandum. From *vapulo*, which has a paſſive ſenſe, *vapulandus* can never be derived. No man forgets his original trade: the rights of nations, and of kings, ſink into queſtions of grammar, if grammarians diſcuſs them.

Milton when he undertook this anſwer was weak of body, and dim of ſight; but his will was forward, and what was wanting of health was ſupplied by zeal. He was rewarded with a thouſand pounds, and his book

book was much read; for paradox, recommended by ſpirit and elegance, eaſily gains attention; and he who told every man that he was equal to his King, could hardly want an audience.

That the performance of Salmaſius was not diſperſed with equal rapidity, or read with equal eagerneſs, is very credible. He taught only the ſtale doctrine of authority, and the unpleaſing duty of ſubmiſſion; and he had been ſo long not only the monarch but the tyrant of literature, that almoſt all mankind were delighted to find him defied and inſulted by a new name, not yet conſidered as any one's rival. If Chriſtina, as is ſaid, commended the *Defence of the People*, her purpoſe muſt be to torment Salmaſius, who was then at her Court; for neither her civil ſtation nor her natural character could diſpoſe her to favour the doctrine, who was by birth a queen, and by temper deſpotick.

That Salmaſius was, from the appearance of Milton's book, treated with neglect, there is not much proof; but to a man ſo long accuſtomed to admiration, a little praiſe

praiſe of his antagoniſt would be ſufficiently offenſive, and might incline him to leave Sweden, from which, however, he was diſmiſſed, not with any mark of contempt, but with a train of attendance ſcarce leſs than regal.

He prepared a reply, which, left as it was imperfect, was publiſhed by his ſon in the year of the Reſtauration. In the beginning, being probably moſt in pain for his Latinity, he endeavours to defend his uſe of the word *perſona*; but, if I remember right, he miſſes a better authority than any that he has found, that of Juvenal in his fourth ſatire:

> —Quid agis cum dira & fœdior omni
> Crimine *Perſona* eſt?

As Salmaſius reproached Milton with loſing his eyes in the quarrel, Milton delighted himſelf with the belief that he had ſhortened Salmaſius's life, and both perhaps with more malignity than reaſon. Salmaſius died at the Spa, Sept. 3, 1653; and as controvertiſts are commonly ſaid to be killed by their laſt diſpute, Milton was flattered with the credit of deſtroying him.

Cromwell

Cromwell had now diſmiſſed the parliament by the authority of which he had deſtroyed monarchy, and commenced monarch himſelf, under the title of protector, but with kingly and more than kingly power. That his authority was lawful, never was pretended; he himſelf founded his right only in neceſſity; but Milton, having now taſted the honey of publick employment, would not return to hunger and philoſophy, but, continuing to exerciſe his office under a manifeſt uſurpation, betrayed to his power that liberty which he had defended. Nothing can be more juſt than that rebellion ſhould end in ſlavery; that he, who had juſtified the murder of his king, for ſome acts which to him ſeemed unlawful, ſhould now ſell his ſervices, and his flatteries, to a tyrant, of whom it was evident that he could do nothing lawful.

He had now been blind for ſome years; but his vigour of intellect was ſuch, that he was not diſabled to diſcharge his office of Latin ſecretary, or continue his controverſies. His mind

mind was too eager to be diverted, and too ſtrong to be ſubdued.

About this time his firſt wife died in childbed, having left him three daughters. As he probably did not much love her, he did not long continue the appearance of lamenting her; but after a ſhort time married Catherine, the daughter of one captain Woodcock of Hackney; a woman doubtleſs educated in opinions like his own. She died within a year, of childbirth, or ſome diſtemper that followed it; and her huſband has honoured her memory with a poor ſonnet.

The firſt Reply to Milton's *Defenſio Populi* was publiſhed in 1651, called *Apologia pro Rege & Populo Anglicano, contra Johannis Polypragmatici (alias Miltoni) defenſionem deſtructivam Regis & Populi.* Of this the author was not known; but Milton and his nephew Philips, under whoſe name he publiſhed an anſwer ſo much corrected by him that it might be called his own, imputed it to Bramhal; and, knowing him no friend to regicides, thought themſelves at liberty to

treat

treat him as if they had known what they only ſuſpected.

Next year appeared *Regii Sanguinis clamor ad Cœlum.* Of this the author was Peter du Moulin, who was afterwards prebendary of Canterbury; but Morus, or More, a French miniſter, having the care of its publication, was treated as the writer by Milton in his *Defenſio Secunda*, and overwhelmed by ſuch violence of invective, that he began to ſhrink under the tempeſt, and gave his perſecutors the means of knowing the true author. Du Moulin was now in great danger; but Milton's pride operated againſt his malignity; and both he and his friends were more willing that Du Moulin ſhould eſcape than that he ſhould be convicted of miſtake.

In this ſecond Defence he ſhews that his eloquence is not merely ſatirical; the rudeneſs of his invective is equalled by the groſſneſs of his flattery. "Deſerimur, Cromuelle, "tu ſolis ſuperes, ad te ſumma noſtrarum "rerum rediit, in te ſolo conſiſtit, inſupe-"rabili tuæ virtuti cedimus cuncti, nemine

"vel

" vel obloquente, niſi qui æquales inæqualis
" ipſe honores ſibi quærit, aut digniori con-
" ceſſos invidet, aut non intelligit nihil eſſe
" in ſocietate hominum magis vel Deo gra-
" tum, vel rationi conſentaneum, eſſe in ci-
" vitate nihil æquius, nihil utilius, quam
" potiri rerum digniſſimum. Eum te agno-
" ſcunt omnes, Cromuelle, ea tu civis maxi-
" mus et * glorioſiſſimus, dux publici con-
" ſilii, exercituum fortiſſimorum imperator,
" pater patriæ geſſiſti. Sic tu ſpontanea bo-
" norum omnium et animitus miſſa voce ſa-
" lutaris."

Cæſar, when he aſſumed the perpetual dictatorſhip, had not more ſervile or more elegant flattery. A tranſlation may ſhew its ſervility; but its elegance is leſs attainable. Having expoſed the unſkilfulneſs or ſelfiſhneſs of the former government, " We were left," ſays Milton, " to ourſelves: the whole na-
" tional intereſt fell into your hands, and

* It may be doubted whether *glorioſiſſimus* be here uſed with Milton's boaſted purity. *Res glorioſa* is an *illuſtrious thing*; but *vir glorioſus* is commonly a *braggart*, as in *miles glorioſus*.

" ſubſiſts

"ſubſiſts only in your abilities. To your "virtue, overpowering and reſiſtleſs, every "man gives way, except ſome who, without "equal qualifications, aſpire to equal ho-"nours, who envy the diſtinctions of me-"rit greater than their own, or who have "yet to learn, that in the coalition of "human ſociety nothing is more pleaſing to "God, or more agreeable to reaſon, than "that the higheſt mind ſhould have the ſo-"vereign power. Such, Sir, are you by ge-"neral confeſſion; ſuch are the things at-"chieved by you, the greateſt and moſt glo-"rious of our countrymen, the director of "our publick councils, the leader of un-"conquered armies, the father of your "country; for by that title does every good "man hail you, with ſincere and voluntary "praiſe."

Next year, having defended all that wanted defence, he found leiſure to defend himſelf. He undertook his own vindication againſt More, whom he declares in his title to be juſtly called the author of the *Regii Sanguinis clamor*. In this there is no want of vehemence nor eloquence, nor does he forget

his wonted wit. "Morus es? an Momus? an "uterque idem eſt?" He then remembers that *Morus* is Latin for a Mulberry-tree, and hints at the known transformation:

—Poma alba ferebat
Quæ poſt nigra tulit Morus.

With this piece ended his controverſies; and he from this time gave himſelf up to his private ſtudies and his civil employment.

As ſecretary to the Protector he is ſuppoſed to have written the Declaration of the reaſons for a war with Spain. His agency was conſidered as of great importance; for when a treaty with Sweden was artfully ſuſpended, the delay was publickly imputed to Mr. Milton's indiſpoſition; and the Swediſh agent was provoked to expreſs his wonder, that only one man in England could write Latin, and that man blind.

Being now forty-ſeven years old, and ſeeing himſelf diſencumbered from external interruptions, he ſeems to have recollected his former purpoſes, and to have reſumed three great

great works which he had planned for his future employment: an epick poem, the hiſtory of his country, and a dictionary of the Latin tongue.

To collect a dictionary, ſeems a work of all others leaſt practicable in a ſtate of blindneſs, becauſe it depends upon perpetual and minute inſpection and collation. Nor would Milton probably have begun it, after he had loſt his eyes; but, having had it always before him, he continued it, ſays Philips, *almoſt to his dying-day; but the papers were ſo diſcompoſed and deficient, that they could not be fitted for the preſs.* The compilers of the Latin dictionary, printed at Cambridge, had the uſe of thoſe collections in three folios; but what was their fate afterwards is not known.

To compile a hiſtory from various authors, when they can only be conſulted by other eyes, is not eaſy, nor poſſible, but with more ſkilful and attentive help than can be commonly obtained; and it was probably the difficulty of conſulting and comparing that ſtopped Milton's narrative at the Conqueſt; a period at which affairs were not yet

very intricate, nor authors very numerous.

For the ſubject of his epick poem, after much deliberation, *long chuſing, and beginning late*, he fixed upon *Paradiſe Loſt*; a deſign ſo comprehenſive, that it could be juſtified only by ſucceſs. He had once deſigned to celebrate King Arthur, as he hints in his verſes to Manſus; but *Arthur was reſerved*, ſays Fenton, *to another deſtiny*.

It appears, by ſome ſketches of poetical projects left in manuſcript, and to be ſeen in a library at Cambridge, that he had digeſted his thoughts on this ſubject into one of thoſe wild dramas which were anciently called Myſteries; and Philips had ſeen what he terms part of a tragedy, beginning with the firſt ten lines of Satan's addreſs to the Sun. Theſe Myſteries conſiſt of allegorical perſons; ſuch as *Juſtice*, *Mercy*, *Faith*. Of the tragedy or myſtery of *Paradiſe Loſt* there are two plans:

The

The Furies.
Michael.
Chorus of Angels.
Heavenly Love.
Lucifer.
Adam.
Eve.
Conscience.
Labour.
Sickness.
Discontent.
Ignorance.
Death.
Fear.
Hope.
Charity.
Faith.
The Furies.
Moles.
Divine Justice.
dom.
The Evening Star.
Hesperus.
Chorus of Angels.
Lucifer.
Conscience.
Moles.
Sickness.
Ignorance.
Fear.
Death.
Faith.
Hope.
Charity.
Faith.
The Furies.
The Furies.
Moles.
Wis-
Heavenly Love.
Moles, metaphor, recounting how he al-
lured his true body; that it corrupts not,

The Persons.

Michael.
Chorus of Angels.
Heavenly Love.
Lucifer.
Adam, } with the
Eve, } Serpent.
Conscience.
Death.
Labour,
Sickness,
Discontent,
Ignorance,
with others; } Mutes.
Faith,
Hope.
Charity.

The Persons.

Moses.
Divine Justice, Wisdom, Heavenly Love.
The Evening Star, Hesperus.
Chorus of Angels.
Lucifer.
Adam.
Eve.
Conscience.
Labour,
Sickness,
Discontent,
Ignorance,
Fear,
Death; } Mutes.
Faith.
Hope.
Charity.

Paradise Lost.

The Persons.

Moses, προλογίζει, recounting how he assumed his true body; that it corrupts not,

becauſe it is with God in the mount; declares the like of Enoch and Elijah; beſides the purity of the place, that certain pure winds, dews, and clouds, preſerves it from corruption; whence exhorts to the ſight of God; tells, they cannot ſee Adam in the ſtate of innocence, by reaſon of their ſin.

Juſtice, Mercy, Wiſdom, } debating what ſhould become of man, if he fall.

Chorus of Angels ſinging a hymn of the Creation.

ACT II.

Heavenly Love.

Evening Star.

Chorus ſing the marriage-ſong, and deſcribe Paradiſe.

ACT III.

Lucifer, contriving Adam's ruin.

Chorus fears for Adam, and relates Lucifer's rebellion and fall.

ACT IV.

Adam, Eve, } fallen.

Conſcience cites them to God's examination.

Chorus bewails, and tells the good Adam has loſt.

ACT V.

Adam and Eve driven out of Paradiſe.

—— — —— preſented by an angel with

Labour, Grief, Hatred, Envy, War, Famine, Peſtilence, Sickneſs, Diſcontent, Ignorance, Fear, Death, } Mutes.

To whom he gives their names. Likewiſe Winter, Heat, Tempeſt, &c.

Faith, Hope, Charity, } comfort him, and inſtruct him.

Chorus briefly concludes.

Such was his firſt deſign, which could have produced only an allegory, or myſtery. The following ſketch ſeems to have attained more maturity.

Adam unparadiſed:

The angel Gabriel, either deſcending or entering; ſhewing, ſince this globe was created, his frequency as much on earth as in heaven; deſcribes Paradiſe. Next, the Chorus, ſhewing the reaſon of his coming to keep his watch in Paradiſe, after Lucifer's rebellion, by command from God; and withal expreſſing his deſire to ſee and know more concerning this excellent new creature, man. The angel Gabriel, as by his name ſignifying a prince of power, tracing Paradiſe with a more free office, paſſes by the ſtation of the Chorus, and, deſired by them, relates what he knew of man; as the creation of Eve, with their love and marriage. After this, Lucifer appears; after his overthrow, bemoans himſelf, ſeeks revenge on man. The Chorus prepare reſiſtance at his firſt approach. At laſt, after diſcourſe of enmity on either ſide. he departs: whereat the Chorus ſings of the battle and victory in heaven, againſt him and his accomplices: as before, after the firſt act, was ſung a hymn of the creation. Here again may appear Lucifer, relating

Adam unparadised:

The angel Gabriel, either defending or entering; shewing, since this globe was created, his frequency as much on earth as in heaven; describes Paradise. Next, the Chorus, shewing the reason of his coming to keep his watch in Paradise, after Lucifer's rebellion, by command from God; and withal expressing his desire to see and know more concerning this excellent new creature, Man. The angel Gabriel, as by his name signifying a prince of power, having Paradise with a more free office, passeth by the station of the Chorus, and, desired by them, relates what he knew of man; as the creation of Eve, with their love and marriage. After this, Lucifer appears; after his overthrow, bemoans himself, seeks revenge on man. The Chorus prepare resistance at his first approach. At last, after discourse of enmity on either side, he departs: whereat the Chorus sings of the battle and victory in heaven against him and his accomplices: as before after the first act, was sung a hymn of the creation. Here again may appear Lucifer, relating

relating and inlisting in what he had done to the deftruction of man. Man next, and Eve having by this time been feduced by the Serpent, appears confufedly covered with leaves. Confcience, in a fhape, accufes him; Juftice cites him to the place whither Jehovah called for him. In the mean while, the Chorus entertains the ftage, and is informed by fome angel the manner of the Fall. Hear the Chorus bewails Adam's fall; Adam and Eve return; accufe one another; but efpecially Adam lays the blame to his wife; is ftubborn in his offence. Juftice appears, reafons with him, convinces him. The Chorus admonifheth Adam, and bids him beware Lucifer's example of impenitence. The angel is fent to banifh them out of Paradife; but before comes to pafs before his eyes, in fhapes, a mark of all the evils of this life and world. He is humbled, relents, deplores: at laft appears Mercy, comforts him, promifes the Meffiah; then calls in Faith, Hope, and Charity; inftructs him; he repents, gives God the glory, fubmits to his penalty. The Chorus briefly concludes. Compare this with the former drawght."

Thefe

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Theſe

These are very imperfect rudiments of *Paradise Loſt*; but it is pleaſant to ſee great works in their ſeminal ſtate, pregnant with latent poſſibilities of excellence; nor could there be any more delightful entertainment than to trace their gradual growth and expanſion, and to obſerve how they are ſometimes ſuddenly advanced by accidental hints, and ſometimes ſlowly improved by ſteady meditation.

Invention is almoſt the only literary labour which blindneſs cannot obſtruct, and therefore he naturally ſolaced his ſolitude by the indulgence of his fancy, and the melody of his numbers. He had done what he knew to be neceſſarily previous to poetical excellence; he had made himſelf acquainted with *ſeemly arts and affairs*; his comprehenſion was extended by various knowledge, and his memory ſtored with intellectual treaſures. He was ſkilful in many languages, and had by reading and compoſition attained the full maſtery of his own. He would have wanted little help from books, had he retained the power of peruſing them.

But while his greater deſigns were advancing, having now, like many other authors, caught the love of publication, he amuſed himſelf, as he could, with little productions. He ſent to the preſs (1658) a manuſcript of Raleigh, called the *Cabinet Council*; and next year gratified his malevolence to the clergy, by a *Treatiſe of Civil Power in Eccleſiaſtical Caſes, and the Means of removing Hirelings out of the Church.*

Oliver was now dead; Richard was conſtrained to reſign: the ſyſtem of extemporary government, which had been held together only by force, naturally fell into fragments when that force was taken away; and Milton ſaw himſelf and his cauſe in equal danger. But he had ſtill hope of doing ſomething. He wrote letters, which Toland has publiſhed, to ſuch men as he thought friends to the new commonwealth; and even in the year of the Reſtoration he *bated no jot of heart or hope*, but was fantaſtical enough to think that the nation, agitated as it was, might be ſettled by a pamphlet, called *A ready and eaſy way to eſtabliſh a Free Commonwealth*; which

which was, however, enough conſidered to be both ſeriouſly and ludicrouſly anſwered.

The obſtinate enthuſiaſm of the commonwealthmen was very remarkable. When the King was apparently returning, Harrington, with a few aſſociates as fanatical as himſelf, uſed to meet, with all the gravity of political importance, to ſettle an equal government by rotation; and Milton, kicking when he could ſtrike no longer, was fooliſh enough to publiſh, a few weeks before the Reſtoration, *Notes* upon a ſermon preached by one Griffiths, intituled, *The Fear of God and the King*. To theſe notes an anſwer was written by L'Eſtrange, in a pamphlet petulantly called *No blind Guides*.

But whatever Milton could write, or men of greater activity could do, the King was now about to be reſtored with the irreſiſtible approbation of the people. He was therefore no longer ſecretary, and was conſequently obliged to quit the houſe which he held by his office; and proportioning his ſenſe of danger to his opinion of the importance of his writings, thought it convenient to

which was, however, enough considered to be both seriously and judiciously answered.

The obstinate enthusiasm of the commonwealthmen was very remarkable. When the King was apparently returning, Harrington, with a few associates as fanatical as himself, used to meet, with all the gravity of political importance, to settle an equal government by rotation; and Milton, kicking when he could strike no longer, was foolish enough to publish, a few weeks before the Restoration, Notes upon a Sermon preached by one Griffiths, intituled, The Fear of God and the King. To that notes an answer was written by L'Estrange, in a pamphlet popularly called No blind Guides.

But whatever Milton could write, or men of greater activity could do, the King was now about to be restored with the unanimous approbation of the people. He was therefore no longer secretary, and was consequently obliged to quit the house which he held by his office; and proportioning his fears of danger to his opinion of the importance of his writings, thought it convenient to

to seek Some Shelter, and hid himself for a time in Bartholomew-Close by West Smithfield.

I cannot but remark a kind of retpect, perhaps unconsciously, paid to this great man by his biographers; every house in which he resided is historically mentioned, as it were an injury to neglect naming any place that he honoured by his presence.

The King, with levity of which the world has had perhaps no other example, declined to be the judge or avenger of his own or his father's wrongs; and promised to admit into the Act of Oblivion all, except those whom the parliament should except; and the parliament doomed none to capital punishment but the wretches who had immediately cooperated in the murder of the King. Milton was certainly not one of them; he had only justified what they had done.

This justification was indeed sufficiently offensive; and (June 16) an order was issued to seize Milton's Defence, and Goodwin's Obstructors of Justice, another book of the same tendency.

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This juſtification was indeed ſufficiently offenſive; and (June 16) an order was iſſued to ſeize Milton's *Defence*, and Goodwin's *Obſtructors of Juſtice*, another book of the ſame tendency,

tendency, and burn them by the common hangman. The attorney-general was ordered to proſecute the authors; but Milton was not ſeized, nor perhaps very diligently purſued.

Not long after (Auguſt 19) the flutter of innumerable boſoms was ſtilled by an act, which the King, that his mercy might want no recommendation of elegance, rather called an *act of oblivion* than of grace. Goodwin was named, with nineteen more, as incapacitated for any publick truſt; but of Milton there was no exception.

Of this tenderneſs ſhewn to Milton, the curioſity of mankind has not forborn to enquire the reaſon. Burnet thinks he was forgotten; but this is another inſtance which may confirm Dalrymple's obſervation, who ſays, "that whenever Burnet's narrations "are examined, he appears to be miſtaken."

Forgotten he was not; for his proſecution was ordered; it muſt be therefore by deſign that he was included in the general oblivion. He is ſaid to have had friends in the Houſe, ſuch as Marvel, Morrice, and Sir Thomas Clarges;

Clarges; and undoubtedly a man like him must have had influence. A very particular ſtory of his eſcape is told by Richardſon in his Memoirs, which he received from Pope, as delivered by Betterton, who might have heard it from Davenant. In the war between the King and Parliament, Davenant was made priſoner, and condemned to die; but was ſpared at the requeſt of Milton. When the turn of ſucceſs brought Milton into the like danger, Davenant repaid the benefit by appearing in his favour. Here is a reciprocation of generoſity and gratitude ſo pleaſing, that the tale makes its own way to credit. But if help were wanted, I know not where to find it. The danger of Davenant is certain from his own relation; but of his eſcape there is no account. Betterton's narration can be traced no higher; it is not known that he had it from Davenant. We are told that the benefit exchanged was life for life; but it ſeems not certain that Milton's life ever was in danger. Goodwin, who had committed the ſame kind of crime, eſcaped with incapacitation; and as excluſion from publick truſt is a puniſhment which the power of government can commonly inflict without

without the help of a particular law, it required no great intereſt to exempt Milton from a cenſure little more than verbal. Something may be reaſonably aſcribed to veneration and compaſſion; to veneration of his abilities, and compaſſion for his diſtreſſes, which made it fit to forgive his malice for his learning. He was now poor and blind; and who would purſue with violence an illuſtrious enemy, depreſſed by fortune, and diſarmed by nature?

The publication of the act of oblivion put him in the ſame condition with his fellow-ſubjects. He was, however, upon ſome pretence not now known, in the cuſtody of the ſerjeant in December; and, when he was releaſed, upon his refuſal of the fees demanded, he and the ſerjeant were called before the Houſe. He was now ſafe within the ſhade of oblivion, and knew himſelf to be as much out of the power of a griping officer as any other man. How the queſtion was determined is not known. Milton would hardly have contended, but that he knew himſelf to have right on his ſide.

He then removed to Jewin-ſtreet, near Alderſgate-ſtreet; and being blind, and by no means wealthy, wanted a domeſtick companion and attendant; and therefore, by the recommendation of Dr. Paget, married Elizabeth Minſhul, of a gentleman's family in Cheſhire, probably without a fortune. All his wives were virgins; for he has declared that he thought it groſs and indelicate to be a ſecond huſband: upon what other principles his choice was made, cannot now be known; but marriage afforded not much of his happineſs. The firſt wife left him in diſguſt, and was brought back only by terror; the ſecond, indeed, ſeems to have been more a favourite, but her life was ſhort. The third, as Philips relates, oppreſſed his children in his life-time, and cheated them at his death.

Soon after his marriage, according to an obſcure ſtory, he was offered the continuance of his employment; and, being preſſed by his wife to accept it, anſwered, "You, like "other women, want to ride in your coach; "my wiſh is to live and die an honeſt man." If he conſidered the Latin ſecretary as exer-

ciſing any of the powers of government, he that had ſhared authority either with the parliament or Cromwell, might have forborn to talk very loudly of his honeſty; and if he thought the office purely miniſterial, he certainly might have honeſtly retained it under the king. But this tale has too little evidence to deſerve a diſquiſition; large offers and ſturdy rejections are among the moſt common topicks of falſehood.

He had ſo much either of prudence or gratitude, that he forbore to diſturb the new ſettlement with any of his political or eccleſiaſtical opinions, and from this time devoted himſelf to poetry and literature. Of his zeal for learning, in all its parts, he gave a proof by publiſhing, the next year (1661), *Accidence commenced Grammar*; a little book which has nothing remarkable, but that its author, who had been lately defending the ſupreme powers of his country, and was then writing *Paradiſe Loſt*, could deſcend from his elevation to reſcue children from the perplexity of grammatical confuſion, and the trouble of leſſons unneceſſarily repeated.

About

About this time Elwood the quaker, being recommended to him as one who would read Latin to him, for the advantage of his conversation, attended him every afternoon, except on Sundays. Milton, who, in his letter to Hartlib, had declared, that to read Latin with an English mouth is as ill a thing as to learn Greek, required that Elwood should learn and practise the Italian pronunciation, which, he said, was necessary, if he would talk with foreigners. This seems to have been a task troublesome without use. There is little reason for preferring the Italian pronunciation to our own, except that it is more general; and to teach it to an English man is only to make him a foreigner at home. He who travels, if he speaks Latin, may soon learn the sounds which every native gives it, that he need make no previous study before his journey; and if strangers visit us, it is their business to practise such conformity to our modes as they expect from us in their own countries. Elwood complied with the directions, and improved himself by his attendance; for he relates, that Milton, having a curious ear, knew by his voice when he read

About this time Elwood the quaker, being recommended to him as one who would read Latin to him, for the advantage of his converſation; attended him every afternoon, except on Sundays. Milton, who, in his letter to Hartlib, had declared, that *to read Latin with an Engliſh mouth is as ill a hearing as Law French*, required that Elwood ſhould learn and practiſe the Italian pronunciation, which, he ſaid, was neceſſary, if he would talk with foreigners. This ſeems to have been a taſk troubleſome without uſe. There is little reaſon for preferring the Italian pronunciation to our own, except that it is more general; and to teach it to an Engliſhman is only to make him a foreigner at home. He who travels, if he ſpeaks Latin, may ſo ſoon learn the ſounds which every native gives it, that he need make no proviſion before his journey; and if ſtrangers viſit us, it is their buſineſs to practiſe ſuch conformity to our modes as they expect from us in their own countries. Elwood complied with the directions, and improved himſelf by his attendance; for he relates, that Milton, having a curious ear, knew by his voice when he read

what he did not underſtand, and would ſtop him, and *open the moſt difficult paſſages.*

In a ſhort time he took a houſe in the *Artillery Walk*, leading to *Bunhill Fields*; the mention of which concludes the regiſter of Milton's removals and habitations. He lived longer in this place than in any other.

He was now buſied by *Paradiſe Loſt*. Whence he drew the original deſign has been variouſly conjectured, by men who cannot bear to think themſelves ignorant of that which, at laſt, neither diligence nor ſagacity can diſcover. Some find the hint in an Italian tragedy. Voltaire tells a wild and unauthoriſed ſtory of a farce ſeen by Milton in Italy, which opened thus: *Let the Rainbow be the Fiddleſtick of the Fiddle of Heaven.* It has been already ſhewn, that the firſt conception was a tragedy or myſtery, not of a narrative, but a dramatick work, which he is ſuppoſed to have begun to reduce to its preſent form about the time (1655) when he finiſhed his diſpute with the defenders of the king.

He long before had promiſed to adorn his native country by ſome great performance, while he had yet perhaps no ſettled deſign, and was ſtimulated only by ſuch expectations as naturally aroſe from the ſurvey of his attainments, and the conſciouſneſs of his powers. What he ſhould undertake, it was difficult to determine. He was *long chuſing, and began late.*

While he was obliged to divide his time between his private ſtudies and affairs of ſtate, his poetical labour muſt have been often interrupted; and perhaps he did little more in that buſy time than conſtruct the narrative, adjuſt the epiſodes, proportion the parts, accumulate images and ſentiments, and treaſure in his memory, or preſerve in writing, ſuch hints as books or meditation would ſupply. Nothing particular is known of his intellectual operations while he was a ſtateſman; for, having every help and accommodation at hand, he had no need of uncommon expedients.

Being driven from all publick ſtations, he is yet too great not to be traced by curioſity

to his retirement; where he has been found by Mr. Richardſon, the fondeſt of his admirers, ſitting *before his door in a grey coat of coarſe cloth, in warm ſultry weather, to enjoy the freſh air; and ſo, as well as in his own room, receiving the viſits of people of diſtinguiſhed parts as well as quality.* His viſitors of high quality muſt now be imagined to be few; but men of parts might reaſonably court the converſation of a man ſo generally illuſtrious, that foreigners are reported, by Wood, to have viſited the houſe in Bread-ſtreet where he was born.

According to another account, he was ſeen in a ſmall houſe, *neatly enough dreſſed in black cloaths, ſitting in a room hung with ruſty green; pale but not cadaverous, with chalkſtones in his hands. He ſaid, that if it were not for the gout, his blindneſs would be tolerable.*

In the intervals of his pain, being made unable to uſe the common exerciſes, he uſed to ſwing in a chair, and ſometimes played upon an organ.

He

He was now confeſſedly and viſibly employed upon his poem, of which the progreſs might be noted by thoſe with whom he was familiar; for he was obliged, when he had compoſed as many lines as his memory would conveniently retain, to employ ſome friend in writing them, having, at leaſt for part of the time, no regular attendant. This gave opportunity to obſervations and reports.

Mr. Philips obſerves, that there was a very remarkable circumſtance in the compoſure of *Paradiſe Loſt*, "which I have a par-"ticular reaſon," ſays he, "to remember; "for whereas I had the peruſal of it from "the very beginning, for ſome years, as I "went from time to time to viſit him, in "parcels of ten, twenty, or thirty verſes at "a time (which, being written by whatever "hand came next, might poſſibly want "correction as to the orthography and point-"ing), having, as the ſummer came on, "not been ſhewed any for a conſiderable "while, and deſiring the reaſon thereof, was "anſwered, that his vein never happily flowed "but from the Autumnal Equinox to the

" Vernal; and that whatever he attempted " at other times was never to his ſatisfaction, " though he courted his fancy never ſo " much; ſo that, in all the years he was " about this poem, he may be ſaid to have " ſpent half his time therein."

Upon this relation Toland remarks, that in his opinion Philips has miſtaken the time of the year; for Milton, in his Elegies, declares that with the advance of the Spring he feels the increaſe of his poetical force, *redeunt in carmina vires.* To this it is anſwered, that Philips could hardly miſtake time ſo well marked; and it may be added, that Milton might find different times of the year favourable to different parts of life. Mr. Richardſon conceives it impoſſible that *ſuch a work ſhould be ſuſpended for ſix months, or for one. It may go on faſter or ſlower, but it muſt go on.* By what neceſſity it muſt continually go on, or why it might not be laid aſide and reſumed, it is not eaſy to diſcover.

This dependance of the ſoul upon the ſeaſons, thoſe temporary and periodical ebbs and flows of intellect, may, I ſuppoſe, juſtly be derided

be

derided as the fumes of vain imagination. *Sapiens dominabitur aſtris.* The author that thinks himſelf weather-bound will find, with a little help from hellebore, that he is only idle or exhauſted. But while this notion has poſſeſſion of the head, it produces the inability which it ſuppoſes. Our powers owe much of their energy to our hopes; *poſſunt quia poſſe videntur.* When ſucceſs ſeems attainable, diligence is enforced; but when it is admitted that the faculties are ſuppreſſed by a croſs wind, or a cloudy ſky, the day is given up without reſiſtance; for who can contend with the courſe of Nature?

From ſuch prepoſſeſſions Milton ſeems not to have been free. There prevailed in his time an opinion that the world was in its decay, and that we have had the misfortune to be produced in the decrepitude of Nature. It was ſuſpected that the whole creation languiſhed, that neither trees nor animals had the height or bulk of their predeceſſors, and that every thing was daily ſinking by gradual diminution. Milton appears to ſuſpect that ſouls partake of the general degeneracy, and is not without ſome fear that his book is to be

be written in *an age too late* for heroick poeſy.

Another opinion wanders about the world, and ſometimes finds reception among wiſe men; an opinion that reſtrains the operations of the mind to particular regions, and ſuppoſes that a luckleſs mortal may be born in a degree of latitude too high or too low for wiſdom or for wit. From this fancy, wild as it is, he had not wholly cleared his head, when he feared leſt the *climate* of his country might be *too cold* for flights of imagination.

Into a mind already occupied by ſuch fancies, another not more reaſonable might eaſily find its way. He that could fear leſt his genius had fallen upon too old a world, or too chill a climate, might conſiſtently magnify to himſelf the influence of the ſeaſons, and believe his faculties to be vigorous only half the year.

His ſubmiſſion to the ſeaſons was at leaſt more reaſonable than his dread of decaying Nature, or a frigid zone; for general cauſes muſt

muſt operate uniformly in a general abatement of mental power; if leſs could be performed by the writer, leſs likewiſe would content the judges of his work. Among this lagging race of froſty grovellers he might ſtill have riſen into eminence by producing ſomething which *they ſhould not willingly let die*. However inferior to the heroes who were born in better ages, he might ſtill be great among his contemporaries, with the hope of growing every day greater in the dwindle of poſterity. He might ſtill be the giant of the pygmies, the one-eyed monarch of the blind.

Of his artifices of ſtudy, or particular hours of compoſition, we have little account, and there was perhaps little to be told. Richardſon, who ſeems to have been very diligent in his enquiries, but diſcovers always a wiſh to find Milton diſcriminated from other men, relates, that "he would ſometimes lie "awake whole nights, but not a verſe could "he make; and on a ſudden his poetical "faculty would ruſh upon him with an *im-* "*petus* or *æſtrum*, and his daughter was im- "mediately called to ſecure what came. At "other times he would dictate perhaps forty "lines

" lines in a breath, and then reduce them to " half the number."

Theſe burſts of lights, and involutions of darkneſs; theſe tranſient and involuntary excurſions and retroceſſions of invention, having ſome appearance of deviation from the common train of Nature, are eagerly caught by the lovers of a wonder. Yet ſomething of this inequality happens to every man in every mode of exertion, manual or mental. The mechanick cannot handle his hammer and his file at all times with equal dexterity; there are hours, he knows not why, when *his hand is out*. By Mr. Richardſon's relation, caſually conveyed, much regard cannot be claimed. That, in his intellectual hour, Milton called for his daughter *to ſecure what came*, may be queſtioned; for unluckily it happens to be known that his daughters were never taught to write; nor would he have been obliged, as is univerſally confeſſed, to have employed any caſual viſiter in diſburthening his memory, if his daughter could have performed the office.

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The ſtory of reducing his exuberance has been told of other authors, and, though doubtleſs true of every fertile and copious mind, ſeems to have been gratuitouſly transferred to Milton.

What he has told us, and we cannot now know more, is, that he compoſed much of his poem in the night and morning, I ſuppoſe before his mind was diſturbed with common buſineſs; and that he poured out with great fluency his *unpremeditated verſe*. Verſification, free, like his, from the diſtreſſes of rhyme, muſt, by a work ſo long, be made prompt and habitual; and, when his thoughts were once adjuſted, the words would come at his command.

At what particular times of his life the parts of his work were written, cannot often be known. The beginning of the third book ſhews that he had loſt his ſight; and the Introduction to the ſeventh, that the return of the King had clouded him with diſcountenance; and that he was offended by the licentious feſtivity of the Reſtoration. There are

no

no other internal notes of time. Milton, being now cleared from all effects of his diſloyalty, had nothing required from him but the common duty of living in quiet, to be rewarded with the common right of protection: but this, which, when he ſculked from the approach of his King, was perhaps more than he hoped, ſeems not to have ſatisfied him; for no ſooner is he ſafe, than he finds himſelf in danger, *fallen on evil days and evil tongues, and with darkneſs and with danger compaſs'd round.* This darkneſs, had his eyes been better employed, had undoubtedly deſerved compaſſion: but to add the mention of danger was ungrateful and unjuſt. He was fallen indeed on *evil days*; the time was come in which regicides could no longer boaſt their wickedneſs. But of *evil tongues* for Milton to complain, required impudence at leaſt equal to his other powers; Milton, whoſe warmeſt advocates muſt allow, that he never ſpared any aſperity of reproach or brutality of inſolence.

But the charge itſelf ſeems to be falſe; for it would be hard to recollect any reproach caſt upon him, either ſerious or ludicrous, through

through the whole remaining part of his life. He purſued his ſtudies, or his amuſements, without perſecution, moleſtation, or inſult. Such is the reverence paid to great abilities, however miſuſed: they who contemplated in Milton the ſcholar and the wit, were contented to forget the reviler of his King.

When the plague (1665) raged in London, Milton took refuge at Chalfont in Bucks; where Elwood, who had taken the houſe for him, firſt ſaw a complete copy of *Paradiſe Loſt*, and, having peruſed it, ſaid to him, "Thou haſt ſaid a great deal upon "*Paradiſe Loſt*; what haſt thou to ſay upon "*Paradiſe Found?*"

Next year, when the danger of infection had ceaſed, he returned to Bunhill-fields, and deſigned the publication of his poem. A licenſe was neceſſary, and he could expect no great kindneſs from a chaplain of the archbiſhop of Canterbury. He ſeems, however, to have been treated with tenderneſs; for though objections were made to particular paſſages, and among them to the ſimile of the ſun eclipſed in the firſt book, yet the licenſe

licenſe was granted; and he ſold his copy, April 27, 1667, to Samuel Simmons, for an immediate payment of five pounds, with a ſtipulation to receive five pounds more when thirteen hundred ſhould be ſold of the firſt edition: and again, five pounds after the ſale of the ſame number of the ſecond edition: and another five pounds after the ſame ſale of the third. None of the three editions were to be extended beyond fifteen hundred copies.

The firſt edition was ten books, in a ſmall quarto. The titles were varied from year to year; and an advertiſement and the arguments of the books were omitted in ſome copies, and inſerted in others.

The ſale gave him in two years a right to his ſecond payment, for which the receipt was ſigned April 26, 1669. The ſecond edition was not given till 1674; it was printed in ſmall octavo; and the number of books was increaſed to twelve, by a diviſion of the ſeventh and twelfth; and ſome other ſmall improvements were made. The third edition was publiſhed in 1678; and the widow,

fourth was granted, and to fall due April 27, 1682, to Samuel Simmons, on immediate payment of five pounds, with stipulation to receive five pounds more when thirteen hundred should be sold of the second edition; and again, five pounds after the sale of the three number of the second edition, and another five pounds after the sale of the third. None of the three editions to be extended beyond fifteen hundred copies.

The first edition was ten books, in a small quarto. The titles were varied from year to year; and an advertisement and the arguments of the books were omitted in some copies, and inserted in others.

This first edition in two years might be [illegible] for which the [illegible] was signed April 26, 1669. The second edition was not given till 1674. It was printed in small octavo; and the number of books was altered to twelve by a division of the seventh and the twelfth; the former being split into two, and some few verses added for the connection. The third edition was published in 1678, and the ver-

dow, to whom the copy was then to devolve, ſold all her claims to Simmons for eight pounds, according to her receipt given Dec. 21, 1680. Simmons had already agreed to transfer the whole right to Brabazon Aylmer for twenty-five pounds; and Aylmer ſold to Jacob Tonſon half, Auguſt 17, 1683, and half, March 24, 1690, at a price conſiderably enlarged. In the hiſtory of *Paradiſe Loſt* a deduction thus minute will rather gratify than fatigue.

The ſlow ſale and tardy reputation of this poem have been always mentioned as evidences of neglected merit, and of the uncertainty of literary fame; and enquiries have been made, and conjectures offered, about the cauſes of its long obſcurity and late reception. But has the caſe been truly ſtated? Have not lamentation and wonder been laviſhed on an evil that was never felt?

That in the reigns of Charles and James the *Paradiſe Loſt* received no publick acclamations, is readily confeſſed. Wit and literature were on the ſide of the Court: and who that ſolicited favour or faſhion would ven-

ture to praiſe the defender of the regicides? All that he himſelf could think his due, from *evil tongues* in *evil days*, was that reverential ſilence which was generouſly preſerved. But it cannot be inferred that his poem was not read, or not, however unwillingly, admired.

The ſale, if it be conſidered, will juſtify the publick. Thoſe who have no power to judge of paſt times but by their own, ſhould always doubt their concluſions. The call for books was not in Milton's age what it is in the preſent. To read was not then a general amuſement; neither traders, nor often gentlemen, thought themſelves diſgraced by ignorance. The women had not then aſpired to literature, nor was every houſe ſupplied with a cloſet of knowledge. Thoſe, indeed, who profeſſed learning, were not leſs learned than at any other time; but of that middle race of ſtudents who read for pleaſure or accompliſhment, and who buy the numerous products of modern typography, the number was then comparatively ſmall. To prove the paucity of readers, it may be ſufficient to remark, that the nation had been ſatisfied, from 1623 to 1664, that is, forty-one years, with

with only two editions of the works of Shakspeare, which probably did not together make one thousand copies.

The sale of thirteen hundred copies in two years, in opposition to so much recent enmity, and to a style of versification new to all and disgusting to many, was an uncommon example of the prevalence of genius. The demand did not immediately increase, for many more readers than were supplied at first the nation did not afford. Only three thousand were sold in eleven years: for it forced its way without assistance: its admirers did not dare to publish their opinions; and the opportunities now given of attracting notice by advertisements were then very few; the means of proclaiming the publication of new books have been produced by that general literature which now pervades the nation through all its ranks.

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But the reputation and price of the copy ſtill advanced, till the Revolution put an end to the ſecrecy of love, and *Paradiſe Loſt* broke into open view with ſufficient ſecurity of kind reception.

Fancy can hardly forbear to conjecture with what temper Milton ſurveyed the ſilent progreſs of his work, and marked his reputation ſtealing its way in a kind of ſubterraneous current through fear and ſilence. I cannot but conceive him calm and confident, little diſappointed, not at all dejected, relying on his own merit with ſteady conſciouſneſs, and waiting, without impatience, the viciſſitudes of opinion, and the impartiality of a future generation.

In the mean time he continued his ſtudies, and ſupplied the want of ſight by a very odd expedient, of which Philips gives the following account:

Mr. Philips tells us, "that though our "author had daily about him one or other "to read, ſome perſons of man's eſtate, "who, of their own accord, greedily catched "at the opportunity of being his readers, "that they might as well reap the benefit of "what they read to him, as oblige him by "the benefit of their reading; and others of "younger years were ſent by their parents to

"the same end: yet exacting only the
"eldest daughter, by reason of her bodily
"infirmity, and difficult utterance of speech,
"(which, to say truth, I doubt was the
"principal cause of exacting her), the other
"two were condemned to the performance
"of reading, and exactly pronouncing of
"all the languages or whatever book he
"should, at one time or other, think fit to
"peruse, viz. the Hebrew (and I think the
"Syriac), the Greek, the Latin, the Italian,
"Spanish, and French. All which forts of
"books to be confined to read, without un-
"derstanding one word, must needs be a trial
"of patience almost beyond endurance. Yet
"it was endured by both for a long time,
"though the ill consequels of this employ-
"ment could not be always concealed, but
"broke out more and more into exprobations
"or murmurs; so that at length they were
"all, even the eldest also, sent out to learn
"some curious and ingenious sort of manu-
"facture, proper for young
"ladies, as imbroidery
"silver.

"the ſame end: yet excuſing only the "eldeſt daughter, by reaſon of her bodily "infirmity, and difficult utterance of ſpeech, "(which, to ſay truth, I doubt was the "principal cauſe of excuſing her), the other "two were condemned to the performance "of reading, and exactly pronouncing of "all the languages of whatever book he "ſhould, at one time or other, think fit to "peruſe, viz. the Hebrew (and I think the "Syriac), the Greek, the Latin, the Italian, "Spaniſh, and French. All which ſorts of "books to be confined to read, without un-"derſtanding one word, muſt needs be a trial "of patience almoſt beyond endurance. Yet "it was endured by both for a long time, "though the irkſomeneſs of this employ-"ment could not be always concealed, but "broke out more and more into expreſſions "of uneaſineſs; ſo that at length they were "all, even the eldeſt alſo, ſent out to learn "ſome curious and ingenious ſorts of manu-"facture, that are proper for women to "learn; particularly embroideries in gold or "ſilver."

In the ſcene of miſery which this mode of intellectual labour ſets before our eyes, it is hard to determine whether the daughters or the father are moſt to be lamented. A language not underſtood can never be ſo read as to give pleaſure, and very ſeldom ſo as to convey meaning. If few men would have had reſolution to write books with ſuch embarraſſments, few likewiſe would have wanted ability to find ſome better expedient.

Three years after his *Paradiſe Loſt* (1667), he publiſhed his *Hiſtory of England*, compriſing the whole fable of Geoffry of Monmouth, and continued to the Norman invaſion. Why he ſhould have given the firſt part, which he ſeems not to believe, and which is univerſally rejected, it is difficult to conjecture. The ſtyle is harſh; but it has ſomething of rough vigour, which perhaps may often ſtrike, though it cannot pleaſe.

On this hiſtory the licenſer again fixed his claws, and before he would tranſmit it to the preſs tore out ſeveral parts. Some cenſures of the Saxon monks were taken away,

leſt

leſt they ſhould be applied to the modern clergy; and a character of the Long Parliament, and Aſſembly of Divines, was excluded; of which the author gave a copy to the earl of Angleſea, and which, being afterwards publiſhed, has been ſince inſerted in its proper place.

The ſame year were printed *Paradiſe Regained*, and *Sampſon Agoniſtes*, a tragedy written in imitation of the Ancients, and never deſigned by the author for the ſtage. As theſe poems were publiſhed by another bookſeller, it has been aſked, whether Simmons was diſcouraged from receiving them by the ſlow ſale of the former. Why a writer changed his bookſeller a hundred years ago, I am far from hoping to diſcover. Certainly, he who in two years ſells thirteen hundred copies of a volume in quarto, bought for two payments of five pounds each, has no reaſon to repent his purchaſe.

When Milton ſhewed *Paradiſe Regained* to Elwood, "This," ſaid he, "is owing to "you; for you put it in my head by the

"queſtion you put to me at Chalfont, which "otherwiſe I had not thought of."

His laſt poetical offspring was his favourite. He could not, as Elwood relates, endure to hear *Paradiſe Loſt* preferred to *Paradiſe Regained*. Many cauſes may vitiate a writer's judgement of his own works. On that which has coſt him much labour he ſets a high value, becauſe he is unwilling to think that he has been diligent in vain; what has been produced without toilſome efforts is conſidered with delight, as a proof of vigorous faculties and fertile invention; and the laſt work, whatever it be, has neceſſarily moſt of the grace of novelty. Milton, however it happened, had this prejudice, and had it to himſelf.

To that multiplicity of attainments, and extent of comprehenſion, that entitle this great author to our veneration, may be added a kind of humble dignity, which did not diſdain the meaneſt ſervices to literature. The epic poet, the controvertiſt, the politician, having already deſcended to accommodate children with a book of rudiments,

now,

now, in the laſt years of his life, compoſed a book of Logick, for the initiation of ſtudents in philoſophy: and publiſhed (1672) *Artis Logicæ plenior Inſtitutio ad Petri Rami methodum concinnata*; that is, "A new Scheme of "Logick, according to the Method of Ra-"mus." I know not whether, even in this book, he did not intend an act of hoſtility againſt the Univerſities; for Ramus was one of the firſt oppugners of the old philoſophy, who diſturbed with innovations the quiet of the ſchools.

His polemical diſpoſition again revived. He had now been ſafe ſo long, that he forgot his fears, and publiſhed a *Treatiſe of true Religion, Hereſy, Schiſm, Toleration, and the beſt Means to prevent the Growth of Popery.*

But this little tract is modeſtly written, with reſpectful mention of the Church of England, and an appeal to the thirty-nine articles. His principle of toleration is, agreement in the ſufficiency of the Scriptures; and he extends it to all who, whatever their opinions are, profeſs to derive them from the ſacred books. The papiſts appeal to other teſti-

teſtimonies, and are therefore in his opinion not to be permitted the liberty of either publick or private worſhip; for though they plead conſcience, *we have no warrant*, he ſays, *to regard conſcience which is not grounded in Scripture.*

Thoſe who are not convinced by his reaſons, may be perhaps delighted with his wit. The term *Roman catholick* is, he ſays, *one of the Pope's bulls; it is particular univerſal*, or *catholick ſchiſmatick.*

He has, however, ſomething better. As the beſt preſervative againſt Popery, he recommends the diligent peruſal of the Scriptures; a duty, from which he warns the buſy part of mankind not to think themſelves excuſed.

He now reprinted his juvenile poems, with ſome additions.

In the laſt year of his life he ſent to the preſs, ſeeming to take delight in publication, a collection of Familiar Epiſtles in Latin; to which, being too few to make a volume, he added

"He died of the gout at his house in Bunhill fields, about 10 Nov. 1674 at quite 66. His burial is thus entred in the Regester of St Giles's Cripplegate. "John Melton, gentleman "consumption, Chancel, 12 Nov. 1674." I learn from Aubrey's MS, "he was buried at the upper end in S. Gyles Cripplegate chancell. "Mem. His stone is now, 1681, removed: for "about two years since, the two Steps to the "Communion-table were raised. Sybsse "Jo. Speed & he lie together." Hearne has very significantly remarked that Milton was buried in the same church in which Oliver Cromwell was married. He was interred near his father's grave, who died very old in 1647." Vc. Warton, Mn. Jun. Po. 561

added ſome academical exerciſes, which perhaps he peruſed with pleaſure, as they recalled to his memory the days of youth; but for which nothing but veneration for his name could now procure a reader.

When he had attained his ſixty-ſixth year, the gout, with which he had been long tormented, prevailed over the enfeebled powers of nature. He died by a quiet and ſilent expiration, about the tenth of November 1674, at his houſe in Bunhill-fields; and was buried next his father in the chancel of St. Giles at Cripplegate. His funeral was very ſplendidly and numerouſly attended.

Upon his grave there is ſuppoſed to have been no memorial; but in our time a monument has been erected in Weſtminſter-Abbey *To the Author of Paradiſe Loſt*, by Mr. Benſon, who has in the inſcription beſtowed more words upon himſelf than upon Milton.

When the inſcription for the monument of Philips, in which he was ſaid to be *ſoli Miltono ſecundus*, was exhibited to Dr. Sprat, then dean of Weſtminſter, he refuſed to admit

mit it; the name of Milton was, in his opinion, too deteſtable to be read on the wall of a building dedicated to devotion. Atterbury, who ſucceeded him, being author of the inſcription, permitted its reception. "And "ſuch has been the change of publick opi-"nion," ſaid Dr. Gregory, from whom I heard this account, "that I have ſeen erected "in the church a ſtatue of that man, whoſe "name I once knew conſidered as a pollution "of its walls."

Milton has the reputation of having been in his youth eminently beautiful, ſo as to have been called the Lady of his college. His hair, which was of a light brown, parted at the foretop, and hung down upon his ſhoulders, according to the picture which he has given of Adam. He was, however, not of the heroick ſtature, but rather below the middle ſize, according to Mr. Richardſon, who mentions him as having narrowly eſcaped from being *ſhort and thick*. He was vigorous and active, and delighted in the exerciſe of the ſword, in which he is related to have been eminently ſkilful. His weapon was, I believe, not the rapier, but the backſword,

of

of which he recommends the uſe in his book on Education.

His eyes are ſaid never to have been bright; but, if he was a dexterous fencer, they muſt have been once quick.

His domeſtick habits, ſo far as they are known, were thoſe of a ſevere ſtudent. He drank little ſtrong drink of any kind, and fed without exceſs in quantity, and in his earlier years without delicacy of choice. In his youth he ſtudied late at night; but afterwards changed his hours, and reſted in bed from nine to four in the ſummer, and five in winter. The courſe of his day was beſt known after he was blind. When he firſt roſe, he heard a chapter in the Hebrew Bible, and then ſtudied till twelve; then took ſome exerciſe for an hour; then dined; then played on the organ, and ſung, or heard another ſing; then ſtudied to ſix; then entertained his viſiters till eight; then ſupped, and, after a pipe of tobacco and a glaſs of water, went to bed.

So is his life deſcribed; but this even tenour appears attainable only in Colleges.

He

He that lives in the world will ſometimes have the ſucceſſion of his practice broken and confuſed. Viſiters, of whom Milton is repreſented to have had great numbers, will come and ſtay unſeaſonably; buſineſs, of which every man has ſome, muſt be done when others will do it.

When he did not care to riſe early, he had ſomething read to him by his bedſide; perhaps at this time his daughters were employed. He compoſed much in the morning, and dictated in the day, ſitting obliquely in an elbow-chair, with his leg thrown over the arm.

Fortune appears not to have had much of his care. In the civil wars he lent his perſonal eſtate to the parliament; but when, after the conteſt was decided, he ſolicited repayment, he met not only with neglect, but *ſharp rebuke*; and, having tired both himſelf and his friends, was given up to poverty and hopeleſs indignation, till he ſhewed how able he was to do greater ſervice. He was then made Latin ſecretary, with two hundred pounds a year; and had a thouſand pounds for

for his *Defence of the People*. His widow, who, after his death, retired to Namptwich in Cheſhire, and died about 1729, is ſaid to have reported that he loſt two thouſand pounds by entruſting it to a ſcrivener; and that, in the general depredation upon the Church, he had graſped an eſtate of about ſixty pounds a year belonging to Weſtminſter-Abbey, which, like other ſharers of the plunder of rebellion, he was afterwards obliged to return. Two thouſand pounds, which he had placed in the Exciſe-office, were alſo loſt. There is yet no reaſon to believe that he was ever reduced to indigence. His wants, being few, were competently ſupplied. He ſold his library before his death, and left his family fifteen hundred pounds, on which his widow laid hold, and only gave one hundred to each of his daughters.

His literature was unqueſtionably great. He read all the languages which are conſidered either as learned or polite; Hebrew, with its two dialects, Greek, Latin, Italian, French, and Spaniſh. In Latin his ſkill was ſuch as places him in the firſt rank of writers and criticks; and he appears to have culti-

vated

vated Italian with uncommon diligence. The books in which his daughter, who uſed to read to him, repreſented him as moſt delighting, after Homer, which he could almoſt repeat, were Ovid's Metamorphoſes and Euripides. His Euripides is, by Mr. Cradock's kindneſs, now in my hands: the margin is ſometimes noted; but I have found nothing remarkable.

Of the Engliſh poets he ſet moſt value upon Spenſer, Shakſpeare, and Cowley. Spenſer was apparently his favourite: Shakſpeare he may eaſily be ſuppoſed to like, with every other ſkilful reader; but I ſhould not have expected that Cowley, whoſe ideas of excellence were different from his own, would have had much of his approbation. His character of Dryden, who ſometimes viſited him, was, that he was a good rhymiſt, but no poet.

His theological opinions are ſaid to have been firſt Calviniſtical; and aftewards, perhaps when he began to hate the Preſbyterians, to have tended towards Arminianiſm. In the mixed queſtions of theology and government,

vernment, he never thinks that he can recede far enough from popery, or prelacy; but what Baudius ſays of Eraſmus ſeems applicable to him, *magis habuit quod fugeret, quam quod ſequeretur.* He had determined rather what to condemn, than what to approve. He has not aſſociated himſelf with any denomination of Proteſtants: we know rather what he was not, than what he was. He was not of the church of Rome; he was not of the church of England.

To be of no church, is dangerous. Religion, of which the rewards are diſtant, and which is animated only by Faith and Hope, will glide by degrees out of the mind, unleſs it be invigorated and reimpreſſed by external ordinances, by ſtated calls to worſhip, and the ſalutary influence of example. Milton, who appears to have had full conviction of the truth of Chriſtianity, and to have regarded the Holy Scriptures with the profoundeſt veneration, to have been untainted by an heretical peculiarity of opinion, and to have lived in a confirmed belief of the immediate and occaſional agency of Providence, yet grew old without any viſible wor-

ſhip. In the diſtribution of his hours, there was no hour of prayer, either ſolitary, or with his houſehold; omitting publick prayers, he omitted all.

Of [this omiſſion the reaſon has been ſought, upon a ſuppoſition which ought never to be made, that men live with their own approbation, and juſtify their conduct to themſelves. Prayer certainly was not thought ſuperfluous by him, who repreſents our firſt parents as praying acceptably in the ſtate of innocence, and efficaciouſly after their fall. That he lived without prayer can hardly be affirmed; his ſtudies and meditations were an habitual prayer. The neglect of it in his family was probably a fault for which he condemned himſelf, and which he intended to correct, but that death, as too often happens, intercepted his reformation.

His political notions were thoſe of an acrimonious and ſurly republican, for which it is not known that he gave any better reaſon than that *a popular government was the moſt frugal; for the trappings of a monarchy would ſet up an ordinary commonwealth.* It is ſurely very

very ſhallow policy, that ſuppoſes money to be the chief good; and even this, without conſidering that the ſupport and expence of a Court is, for the moſt part, only a particular kind of traffick, by which money is circulated, without any national impoveriſhment.

Milton's republicaniſm was, I am afraid, founded in an envious hatred of greatneſs, and a ſullen deſire of independence; in petulance impatient of controul, and pride diſdainful of ſuperiority. He hated monarchs in the ſtate, and prelates in the church; for he hated all whom he was required to obey. It is to be ſuſpected, that his predominant deſire was to deſtroy rather than eſtabliſh, and that he felt not ſo much the love of liberty as repugnance to authority.

It has been obſerved, that they who moſt loudly clamour for liberty do not moſt liberally grant it. What we know of Milton's character, in domeſtick relations, is, that he was ſevere and arbitrary. His family conſiſted of women; and there appears in his books ſomething like a Turkiſh contempt of

females, as ſubordinate and inferior beings. That his own daughters might not break the ranks, he ſuffered them to be depreſſed by a mean and penurious education. He thought woman made only for obedience, and man only for rebellion.

Of his family ſome account may be expected. His ſiſter, firſt married to Mr. Philips, afterwards married Mr. Agar, a friend of her firſt huſband, who ſucceeded him in the Crown-office. She had by her firſt huſband Edward and John, the two nephews whom Milton educated; and by her ſecond, two daughters.

His brother, Sir Chriſtopher, had two daughters, Mary and Catherine, and a ſon Thomas, who ſucceeded Agar in the Crown-office, and left a daughter living in 1749 in Groſvenor-ſtreet.

Milton had children only by his firſt wife; Anne, Mary, and Deborah. Anne, though deformed, married a maſter-builder, and died of her firſt child. Mary died ſingle. Deborah married Abraham Clark, a weaver in Spital-fields,

fields, and lived ſeventy-ſix years, to Auguſt 1727. This is the daughter of whom publick mention has been made. She could repeat the firſt lines of Homer, the Metamorphoſes, and ſome of Euripides, by having often read them. Yet here incredulity is ready to make a ſtand. Many repetitions are neceſſary to fix in the memory lines not underſtood; and why ſhould Milton wiſh or want to hear them ſo often! Theſe lines were at the beginning of the poems. Of a book written in a language not underſtood, the beginning raiſes no more attention than the end; and as thoſe that underſtand it know commonly the beginning beſt, its rehearſal will ſeldom be neceſſary. It is not likely that Milton required any paſſage to be ſo much repeated as that his daughter could learn it; nor likely that he deſired the initial lines to be read at all: nor that the daughter, weary of the drudgery of pronouncing unideal ſounds, would voluntarily commit them to memory.

To this gentlewoman Addiſon made a preſent, and promiſed ſome eſtabliſhment; but died ſoon after. Queen Caroline ſent her

fifty guineas. She had ſeven ſons and three daughters; but none of them had any children, except her ſon Caleb and her daughter Elizabeth. Caleb went to Fort St George in the Eaſt Indies, and had two ſons, of whom nothing is now known. Elizabeth married Thomas Foſter, a weaver in Spital-fields, and had ſeven children, who all died. She kept a petty grocer's or chandler's ſhop, firſt at Holloway, and afterwards in Cock-lane near Shoreditch Church. She knew little of her grandfather, and that littlewa snot good. She told of his harſhneſs to his daughters, and his refuſal to have them taught to write; and, in oppoſition to other accounts, repreſented him as delicate, though temperate, in his diet.

In 1750, April 5, *Comus* was played for her benefit. She had ſo little acquaintance with diverſion or gaiety, that ſhe did not know what was intended when a benefit was offered her. The profits of the night were only one hundred and thirty pounds, though Dr. Newton brought a large contribution; and twenty pounds were given by Tonſon, a man who is to be praiſed as often as he is named,

named. Of this ſum one hundred pounds was placed in the ſtocks, after ſome debate between her and her huſband in whoſe name it ſhould be entered; and the reſt augmented their little ſtock, with which they removed to Iſlington. This was the greateſt benefaction that *Paradiſe Loſt* ever procured the author's deſcendents; and to this he who has now attempted to relate his Life, had the honour of contributing a Prologue.

IN the examination of Milton's poetical works, I ſhall pay ſo much regard to time as to begin with his juvenile productions. For his early pieces he ſeems to have had a degree of fondneſs not very laudable: what he has once written he reſolves to preſerve, and gives to the publick an unfiniſhed poem, which he broke off becauſe he was *nothing ſatisfied with what he had done*, ſuppoſing his readers leſs nice than himſelf. Theſe preludes to his future labours are in Italian, Latin, and Engliſh. Of the Italian I cannot pretend to ſpeak as a critick; but I have heard them commended by a man well qualified to decide their merit. The Latin pieces are luſciouſly elegant; but the delight which they afford is rather by the exquiſite imitation of the ancient writers, by the purity of the diction, and the harmony of the numbers, than by any power of invention, or vigour of ſentiment. They are not all of equal value; the elegies excell the odes; and ſome of the exerciſes on Gunpowder Treaſon might have been ſpared.

The

The Engliſh poems, though they make no promiſes of *Paradiſe Loſt*, have this evidence of genius, that they have a caſt original and unborrowed. But their peculiarity is not excellence: if they differ from verſes of others, they differ for the worſe; for they are too often diſtinguiſhed by repulſive harſhneſs; the combinations of words are new, but they are not pleaſing; the rhymes and epithets ſeem to be laborioufly ſought, and violently applied.

That in the early parts of his life he wrote with much care appears from his manuſcripts, happily preſerved at Cambridge, in which many of his ſmaller works are found as they were firſt written, with the ſubſequent corrections. Such reliques ſhew how excellence is required; what we hope ever to do with eaſe, we may learn firſt to do with diligence.

Thoſe who admire the beauties of this great poet, ſometimes force their own judgement into falſe approbation of his little pieces, and prevail upon themſelves to think

that admirable which is only ſingular. All that ſhort compoſitions can commonly attain is neatneſs and elegance. Milton never learned the art of doing little things with grace; he overlooked the milder excellence of ſuavity and ſoftneſs; he was a *Lion* that had no ſkill *in dandling the Kid*.

One of the poems on which much praiſe has been beſtowed is *Lycidas*; of which the diction is harſh, the rhymes uncertain, and the numbers unpleaſing. What beauty there is, we muſt therefore ſeek in the ſentiments and images. It is not to be conſidered as the effuſion of real paſſion; for paſſion runs not after remote alluſions and obſcure opinions. Paſſion plucks no berries from the myrtle and ivy, nor calls upon Arethuſe and Mincius, nor tells of rough *ſatyrs* and *fauns with cloven heel*. Where there is leiſure for fiction there is little grief.

In this poem there is no nature, for there is no truth; there is no art, for there is nothing new. Its form is that of a paſtoral, eaſy, vulgar, and therefore diſguſting: whatever images it can ſupply, are long ago exhauſted;

flocks alone without any judge of his skill in piping: but Milton dignifies & adorns these common artificial incidents with unexpected touches of picturesque beauty, with the graces of sentiment & with the novelties of original genius. It is said "here is no art, for there is nothing new" But this objection will vanish if we consider the imagery, which Milton has raised from local circumstances. Not to repeat the use he has made of the mountains of Wales, the isle of Man, & the river Dee, near which Lycidas was shipwrecked; let us recollect the introduction of the romantic superstition of St Michael's Mount in Cornwall, which overlooks the Irish seas, the fatal scene of his friend's disaster.

But the Poetry is not always unconnected with passion. The Poet lavishly describes an ancient sepulchral rite, but it is made preparatory to a stroke of tenderness. He calls for a variety of flowers to ornament his friend's hearse, supposing that his body was present, & forgetting for a while that it was floating far off in the Ocean. If it was drowned, it is some consolation that he was to receive the decencies of burial. This is a pleasing deception: it is natural & pathetic. But the real catastrophe occurs. And this circumstance again opens a new vein of imagination.

Our Author has been censured for

mixing religious disputes with pagan & pastoral ideas. But he had the authority of Mantuan & Spenser, now considered as models in this way of writing. Let me add that our poetry was not yet purged from its Gothic combinations; nor had legitimate notions of discrimination & propriety so far prevailed as sufficiently to influence the growing improvements of English composition. These irregularities & incongruities must not be tried by modern criticism.

T. Warton.

hauſted; and its inherent improbability always forces diſſatisfaction on the mind. When Cowley tells of Hervey that they ſtudied together, it is eaſy to ſuppoſe how much he muſt miſs the companion of his labours, and the partner of his diſcoveries; but what image of tenderneſs can be excited by theſe lines!

> We drove a field, and both together heard
> What time the grey fly winds her ſultry horn,
> Battening our flocks with the freſh dews of night.

We know that they never drove a field, and that they had no flocks to batten; and though it be allowed that the repreſentation may be allegorical, the true meaning is ſo uncertain and remote, that it is never ſought becauſe it cannot be known when it is found.

Among the flocks, and copſes, and flowers, appear the heathen deities; Jove and Phœbus, Neptune and Æolus, with a long train of mythological imagery, ſuch as a College eaſily ſupplies. Nothing can leſs diſplay knowledge, or leſs exerciſe invention, than to tell how a ſhepherd has loſt his companion, and muſt now feed his flocks alone, without any

judge of his ſkill in piping; and how one god aſks another god what is become of Lycidas, and how neither god can tell. He who thus grieves will excite no ſympathy; he who thus praiſes will confer no honour.

This poem has yet a groſſer fault. With theſe trifling fictions are mingled the moſt awful and ſacred truths, ſuch as ought never to be polluted with ſuch irreverend combinations. The ſhepherd likewiſe is now a feeder of ſheep, and afterwards an eccleſiaſtical paſtor, a ſuperintendent of a Chriſtian flock. Such equivocations are always unſkilful; but here they are indecent, and at leaſt approach to impiety, of which, however, I believe the writer not to have been conſcious.

Such is the power of reputation juſtly acquired, that it's blaze drives away the eye from nice examination. Surely no man could have fancied that he read *Lycidas* with pleaſure, had he not known its author.

Of the two pieces, *L'Allegro* and *Il Penſeroſo*, I believe opinion is uniform; every man that reads them, reads them with pleaſure.

The

Surely no man, even of moderate taste, can
[illegible] read Lycidas without
feeling exquisite pleasure, even tho' he may
have been most violently prejudiced against it.

MILTON

The author's deſign is not, what Theobald has remarked, merely to ſhew how objects derive their colours from the mind, by repreſenting the operation of the ſame things upon the gay and the melancholy temper, or upon the ſame man as he is differently diſpoſed; but rather how, among the ſucceſſive variety of appearances, every diſpoſition of mind takes hold on thoſe by which it may be gratified.

The *chearful* man hears the lark in the morning; the *penſive* man hears the nightingale in the evening. The *chearful* man ſees the cock ſtrut, and hears the horn and hounds echo in the wood; then walks *not unſeen* to obſerve the glory of the riſing ſun, or liſten to the ſinging milk-maid, and view the labours of the plowman and the mower; then caſts his eyes about him over ſcenes of ſmiling plenty, and looks up to the diſtant tower, the reſidence of ſome fair inhabitant; thus he purſues rural gaiety through a day of labour or of play, and delights himſelf at night with the fanciful narratives of ſuperſtitious ignorance.

The

The *penſive* man, at one time, walks *unſeen* to muſe at midnight; and at another hears the ſullen curfew. If the weather drives him home, he ſits in a room lighted only by *glowing embers*; or by a lonely lamp outwatches the North Star, to diſcover the habitation of ſeparate ſouls, and varies the ſhades of meditation, by contemplating the magnificent or pathetick ſcenes of tragick and epic poetry. When the morning comes, a morning gloomy with rain and wind, he walks into the dark trackleſs woods, falls aſleep by ſome murmuring water, and with melancholy enthuſiaſm expects ſome dream of prognoſtication, or ſome muſick played by aerial performers.

Both Mirth and Melancholy are ſolitary, ſilent inhabitants of the breaſt that neither receive nor tranſmit communication; no mention is therefore made of a philoſophical friend, or a pleaſant companion. The ſerioufneſs does not ariſe from any participation of calamity, nor the gaiety from the pleaſures of the bottle.

The man of *chearfulneſs*, having exhauſted the country, tries what *towered cities* will afford,

afford, and mingles with ſcenes of ſplendor, gay aſſemblies, and nuptial feſtivities; but he mingles a mere ſpectator, as, when the learned comedies of Jonſon, or the wild dramas of Shakſpeare, are exhibited, he attends the theatre.

The *penſive* man never loſes himſelf in crowds, but walks the cloiſter, or frequents the cathedral. Milton probably had not yet forſaken the Church.

Both his characters delight in muſick; but he ſeems to think that chearful notes would have obtained from Pluto a compleat diſmiſſion of Eurydice, of whom ſolemn ſounds only procured a conditional releaſe.

For the old age of Chearfulneſs he makes no proviſion; but Melancholy he conducts with great dignity to the cloſe of life. His Chearfulneſs is without levity, and his Penſiveneſs without aſperity.

Through theſe two poems the images are properly ſelected, and nicely diſtinguiſhed; but the colours of the diction ſeem not ſufficiently

ciently diſcriminated. I know not whether the characters are kept ſufficiently apart. No mirth can, indeed, be found in his melancholy; but I am afraid that I always meet ſome melancholy in his mirth. They are two noble efforts of imagination.

The greateſt of his juvenile performances is the *Maſk of Comus*; in which may very plainly be diſcovered the dawn or twilight of *Paradiſe Loſt*. Milton appears to have formed very early that ſyſtem of diction, and mode of verſe, which his maturer judgement approved, and from which he never endeavoured nor deſired to deviate.

Nor does *Comus* afford only a ſpecimen of his language; it exhibits likewiſe his power of deſcription and his vigour of ſentiment, employed in the praiſe and defence of virtue. A work more truly poetical is rarely found; alluſions, images, and deſcriptive epithets, embelliſh almoſt every period with laviſh decoration. As a ſeries of lines, therefore, it may be conſidered as worthy of all the admiration with which the votaries have received it.

As

As a drama it is deficient. The action is not probable. A Maſque, in thoſe parts where ſupernatural intervention is admitted, muſt indeed be given up to all the freaks of imagination; but, ſo far as the action is merely human, it ought to be reaſonable, which can hardly be ſaid of the conduct of the two brothers; who, when their ſiſter ſinks with fatigue in a pathleſs wilderneſs, wander both away together in ſearch of berries too far to find their way back, and leave a helpleſs Lady to all the ſadneſs and danger of ſolitude. This however is a defect overbalanced by its convenience.

What deſerves more reprehenſion is, that the prologue ſpoken in the wild wood by the attendant Spirit is addreſſed to the audience; a mode of communication ſo contrary to the nature of dramatick repreſentation, that no precedents can ſupport it.

The diſcourſe of the Spirit is too long; an objection that may be made to almoſt all the following ſpeeches: they have not the ſprightlineſs of a dialogue animated by reciprocal

contention, but ſeem rather declamations deliberately compoſed, and formally repeated, on a moral queſtion. The auditor therefore liſtens as to a lecture, without paſſion, without anxiety.

The ſong of Comus has airineſs and jollity; but, what may recommend Milton's morals as well as his poetry, the invitations to pleaſure are ſo general, that they excite no diſtinct images of corrupt enjoyment, and take no dangerous hold on the fancy.

The following ſoliloquies of Comus and the Lady are elegant, but tedious. The ſong muſt owe much to the voice, if it ever can delight. At laſt the Brothers enter, with too much tranquillity; and when they have feared leſt their ſiſter ſhould be in danger, and hoped that ſhe is not in danger, the Elder makes a ſpeech in praiſe of chaſtity, and the Younger finds how fine it is to be a philoſopher.

Then deſcends the Spirit in form of a ſhepherd; and the Brother, inſtead of being in haſte to aſk his help, praiſes his ſinging, and

and enquires his business in that place. It is remarkable, that at this interview the Brother is taken with a short fit of rhyming. The Spirit relates that the Lady is in the power of Comus, the Brother moralizes again; and the Spirit makes a long narration, of no use because it is false, and therefore unfitting to a good Being.

In all these parts the language is poetical, and the sentiments are generous; but there is something wanting to allure attention.

The dispute between the Lady and Comus is the most animated and affecting scene of the drama, and wants nothing but a brisker reciprocation of objections and replies, to invite attention, and detain it.

The songs are vigorous, and full of imagery; but they are harsh in their diction, and not very musical in their numbers.

Throughout the whole, the figures are too bold, and the language too luxuriant for dialogue. It is a drama in the epic style, frequently splendid, and tediously instructive.

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Throughout the whole, the figures are too bold, and the language too luxuriant for dialogue. It is a drama in the epic ſtyle, inelegantly ſplendid, and tediouſly inſtructive.

The *Sonnets* were written in different parts of Milton's life, upon different occaſions. They deſerve not any particular criticiſm; for of the beſt it can only be ſaid, that they are not bad; and perhaps only the eighth and the twenty-firſt are truly entitled to this ſlender commendation. The fabrick of a ſonnet, however adapted to the Italian language, has never ſucceeded in ours, which, having greater variety of termination, requires the rhymes to be often changed.

Thoſe little pieces may be diſpatched without much anxiety; a greater work calls for greater care. I am now to examine *Paradiſe Loſt*; a poem, which, conſidered with reſpect to deſign, may claim the firſt place, and with reſpect to performance the ſecond, among the productions of the human mind.

By the general conſent of criticks, the firſt praiſe of genius is due to the writer of an epick poem, as it requires an aſſemblage of all the powers which are ſingly ſufficient for other compoſitions. Poetry is the art of uniting pleaſure with truth, by calling imagination to the help of reaſon. Epick poetry undertakes

VIII.th When the Assault was intended to the City.

"Captain, or Colonel, or Knight in arms" &c.

XXI.st To Cyriac Skinner.

"Cyriac, whose grandsire on the royal bench" &c.

"A great critic in ~~pofs~~ Speaking of Milton's Smaller poems, passes over the Ode on the Nativity in silence, & observes "All that short compositions can commonly attain, is neatness & elegance." But Odes are short compositions, & they can often obtain Sublimity, which is even a characteristic of that Species of poetry. We have the proof before us He adds, "Milton never learned the art of doing little things with grace". If by little things we are to understand Short poems, Milton had the art of giving them another sort of excellence".

Warton's Milt. J.I. 286.

undertakes to teach the moſt important truths by the moſt pleaſing precepts, and therefore relates ſome great event in the moſt affecting manner. Hiſtory muſt ſupply the writer with the rudiments or materials, which he muſt improve and exalt by a nobler art, muſt animate by dramatick energy, and diverſify by retroſpection and anticipation; morality muſt teach him the exact bounds, and different shades of vice and virtue; from policy, and the practice of life, he has to learn the diſcriminations of character, and the tendency of the paſſions, either ſingle or combined; and phyſiology muſt ſupply him with illuſtrations and images. To put theſe materials to poetical uſe, is required an imagination capable of painting nature, and realizing fiction. Nor is the reader's part ſmall he muſt attend the whole extenſion of his language, diſtinguiſhed all the delicacies of phraſe, and all the colours of words, and learned to meaſure their different ſounds to all the varieties of metrical modulation.

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ſeems to have been the proceſs only of Milton; the moral of other poems is incidental and conſequent; in Milton's only it is eſſential and intrinſick. His purpoſe was the moſt uſeful and the moſt arduous; *to vindicate the ways of God to man*; to ſhew the reaſonableneſs of religion, and the neceſſity of obedience to the Divine Law.

To convey this moral, there muſt be a *fable*, a narration artfully conſtructed, ſo as to excite curioſity, and ſurpriſe expectation. In this part of his work, Milton muſt be confeſſed to have equalled every other poet. He has involved in his account of the Fall of Man the events which preceded, and thoſe that were to follow it; he has interwoven the whole ſyſtem of theology with ſuch propriety, that every part appears to be neceſſary; and ſcarcely any recital is wiſhed ſhorter for the ſake of quickening the progreſs of the main action.

The ſubject of an epic poem is naturally an event of great importance. That of Milton is not the deſtruction of a city, the conduct of a colony, or the foundation of an empire.

empire. His ſubject is the fate of worlds, the revolutions of heaven and of earth; rebellion againſt the Supreme King, raiſed by the higheſt order of created beings; the overthrow of their hoſt, and the puniſhment of their crime; the creation of a new race of reaſonable creatures; their original happineſs and innocence, their forfeiture of immortality, and their reſtoration to hope and peace.

Great events can be haſtened or retarded only by perſons of elevated dignity. Before the greatneſs diſplayed in Milton's poem, all other greatneſs ſhrinks away. The weakeſt of his agents are the higheſt and nobleſt of human beings, the original parents of mankind; with whoſe actions the elements conſented; on whoſe rectitude, or deviation of will, depended the ſtate of terreſtrial nature, and the condition of all the future inhabitants of the globe.

Of the other agents in the poem, the chief are ſuch as it is irreverence to name on ſlight occaſions. The reſt were lower powers;

—of which the leaſt could wield
Thoſe elements, and arm him with the force
Of all their regions;

powers, which only the controul of Omnipotence reſtrains from laying creation waſte, and filling the vaſt expanſe of ſpace with ruin and confuſion. To diſplay the motives and actions of beings thus ſuperiour, ſo far as human reaſon can examine them, or human imagination repreſent them, is the taſk which this mighty poet has undertaken and performed.

In the examination of epick poems much ſpeculation is commonly employed upon the *characters*. The characters in the *Paradiſe Loſt*, which admit of examination, are thoſe of angels and of man; of angels good and evil; of man in his innocent and ſinful ſtate.

Among the angels, the virtue of Raphael is mild and placid, of eaſy condeſcenſion and free communication; that of Michael is regal and lofty, and, as may ſeem, attentive to the dignity of his own nature. Abdiel and Gabriel appear occaſionally, and act as every in-

cident requires; the ſolitary fidelity of Abdiel is very amiably painted.

Of the evil angels the characters are more diverſified. To Satan, as Addiſon obſerves, ſuch ſentiments are given as ſuit *the moſt exalted and moſt depraved being*. Milton has been cenſured, by Clarke *, for the impiety which ſometimes breaks from Satan's mouth. For there are thoughts, as he juſtly remarks, which no obſervation of character can juſtify, becauſe no good man would willingly permit them to paſs, however tranſiently, through his own mind. To make Satan ſpeak as a rebel, without any ſuch expreſſions as might taint the reader's imagination, was indeed one of the great difficulties in Milton's undertaking, and I cannot but think that he has extricated himſelf with great happineſs. There is in Satan's ſpeeches little that can give pain to a pious ear. The language of rebellion cannot be the ſame with that of obedience. The malignity of Satan foams in haughtineſs and obſtinacy; but his expreſſions are commonly general, and no otherwiſe offenſive than as they are wicked.

* Eſſay on Study.

The

The other chiefs of the celeſtial rebellion are very judiciouſly diſcriminated in the firſt and ſecond books; and the ferocious character of Moloch appears, both in the battle and the council, with exact conſiſtency.

To Adam and to Eve are given, during their innocence, ſuch ſentiments as innocence can generate and utter. Their love is pure benevolence and mutual veneration; their repaſts are without luxury, and their diligence without toil. Their addreſſes to their Maker have little more than the voice of admiration and gratitude. Fruition left them nothing to aſk, and Innocence left them nothing to fear.

But with guilt enter diſtruſt and diſcord, mutual accuſation, and ſtubborn ſelf-defence; they regard each other with alienated minds, and dread their Creator as the avenger of their tranſgreſſion. At laſt they ſeek ſhelter in his mercy, ſoften to repentance, and melt in ſupplication. Both before and after the

Fall, the ſuperiority of Adam is diligently ſuſtained.

Of the *probable* and the *marvellous*, two parts of a vulgar epic poem, which immerge the critick in deep conſideration, the *Paradiſe Loſt* requires little to be ſaid. It contains the hiſtory of a miracle, of Creation and Redemption; it diſplays the power and the mercy of the Supreme Being; the probable therefore is marvellous, and the marvellous is probable. The ſubſtance of the narrative is truth; and as truth allows no choice, it is, like neceſſity, ſuperior to rule. To the accidental or adventitious parts, as to every thing human, ſome ſlight exceptions may be made. But the main fabrick is immovably ſupported.

It is juſtly remarked by Addiſon, that this poem has, by the nature of its ſubject, the advantage above all others, that it is univerſally and perpetually intereſting. All mankind will, through all ages, bear the ſame relation to Adam and to Eve, and muſt partake of that good and evil which extend to themſelves.

Of

Of the *machinery*, ſo called from Θεὸς ἀπὸ μηχανῆς, by which is meant the occaſional interpoſition of ſupernatural power, another fertile topic of critical remarks, here is no room to ſpeak, becauſe every thing is done under the immediate and viſible direction of Heaven; but the rule is ſo far obſerved, that no part of the action could have been accompliſhed by any other means.

Of *epiſodes*, I think there are only two, contained in Raphael's relation of the war in heaven, and Michael's prophetick account of the changes to happen in this world. Both are cloſely connected with the great action; one was neceſſary to Adam as a warning, the other as a conſolation.

To the compleatneſs or *integrity* of the deſign nothing can be objected; it has diſtinctly and clearly what Ariſtotle requires, a beginning, a middle, and an end. There is perhaps no poem, of the ſame length, from which ſo little can be taken without apparent mutilation. Here are no funeral games, nor is there any long deſcription of a

ſhield.

ſhield. The ſhort digreſſions at the beginning of the third, ſeventh, and ninth books, might doubtleſs be ſpared; but ſuperfluities ſo beautiful, who would take away? or who does not wiſh that the author of the *Iliad* had gratified ſucceeding ages with a little knowledge of himſelf? Perhaps no paſſages are more frequently or more attentively read than thoſe extrinſick paragraphs; and, ſince the end of poetry is pleaſure, that cannot be unpoetical with which all are pleaſed.

The queſtions, whether the action of the poem be ſtrictly *one*, whether the poem can be properly termed *heroick*, and who is the hero, are raiſed by ſuch readers as draw their principles of judgement rather from books than from reaſon. Milton, though he intituled *Paradiſe Loſt* only a *poem*, yet calls it himſelf *heroick ſong*. Dryden, petulantly and indecently, denies the heroiſm of Adam, becauſe he was overcome; but there is no reaſon why the hero ſhould not be unfortunate, except eſtabliſhed practice, ſince ſucceſs and virtue do not go neceſſarily together. Cato is the hero of Lucan; but Lucan's authority will not be ſuffered by Quintilian to decide.

decide. However, if ſucceſs be neceſſary, Adam's deceiver was at laſt cruſhed; Adam was reſtored to his Maker's favour, and therefore may ſecurely reſume his human rank.

After the ſcheme and fabrick of the poem, muſt be conſidered its component parts, the ſentiments and the diction.

The *ſentiments*, as expreſſive of manners, or appropriated to characters, are, for the greater part, unexceptionably juſt.

Splendid paſſages, containing leſſons of morality, or precepts of prudence, occur ſeldom. Such is the original formation of this poem, that as it admits no human manners till the Fall, it can give little aſſiſtance to human conduct. Its end is to raiſe the thoughts above ſublunary cares or pleaſures. Yet the praiſe of that fortitude, with which Abdiel maintained his ſingularity of virtue againſt the ſcorn of multitudes, may be accommodated to all times; and Raphael's reproof of Adam's curioſity after the planetary motions, with the anſwer returned by Adam, may

may be confidently oppoſed to any rule of life which any poet has delivered.

The thoughts which are occaſionally called forth in the progreſs, are ſuch as could only be produced by an imagination in the higheſt degree fervid and active, to which materials were ſupplied by inceſſant ſtudy and unlimited curioſity. The heat of Milton's mind might be ſaid to ſublimate his learning, to throw off into his work the ſpirit of ſcience, unmingled with its groſſer parts.

He had conſidered creation in its whole extent, and his deſcriptions are therefore learned. He had accuſtomed his imagination to unreſtrained indulgence, and his conceptions therefore were extenſive. The characteriſtick quality of his poem is ſublimity. He ſometimes deſcends to the elegant, but his element is the great. He can occaſionally inveſt himſelf with grace; but his natural port is gigantick loftineſs *. He can pleaſe when pleaſure is required; but it is his peculiar power to aſtoniſh.

* Algarotti terms it *giganteſca ſublimità Miltoniana.*

He

He ſeems to have been well acquainted with his own genius, and to know what it was that Nature had beſtowed upon him more bountifully than upon others; the power of diſplaying the vaſt, illuminating the ſplendid, enforcing the awful, darkening the gloomy, and aggravating the dreadful: he therefore choſe a ſubject on which too much could not be ſaid, on which he might tire his fancy without the cenſure of extravagance.

The appearances of nature, and the occurrences of life, did not ſatiate his appetite of greatneſs. To paint things as they are, requires a minute attention, and employs the memory rather than the fancy. Milton's delight was to ſport in the wide regions of poſſibility; reality was a ſcene too narrow for his mind. He ſent his faculties out upon diſcovery, into worlds where only imagination can travel, and delighted to form new modes of exiſtence, and furniſh ſentiment and action to ſuperior beings, to trace the counſels of hell, or accompany the choirs of heaven.

He

But he could not be always in other worlds: he muſt ſometimes reviſit earth, and tell of things viſible and known. When he cannot raiſe wonder by the ſublimity of his mind, he gives delight by its fertility.

Whatever be his ſubject, he never fails to fill the imagination. But his images and deſcriptions of the ſcenes or operations of Nature do not ſeem to be always copied from original form, nor to have the freſhneſs, racineſs, and energy of immediate obſervation. He ſaw Nature, as Dryden expreſſes it, *through the ſpectacles of books*; and on moſt occaſions calls learning to his aſſiſtance. The garden of Eden brings to his mind the vale of *Enna*, where Proſerpine was gathering flowers. Satan makes his way through fighting elements, like *Argo* between the *Cyanean* rocks, or *Ulyſſes* between the two *Sicilian* whirlpools, when he ſhunned *Charybdis* on the *larboard*. The mythological alluſions have been juſtly cenſured, as not being always uſed with notice of their vanity; but they contribute variety to the narration, and produce an alternate exerciſe of the memory and the fancy.

His ſimilies are leſs numerous, and more various, than thoſe of his predeceſſors. But he does not confine himſelf within the limits of rigorous compariſon: his great excellence is amplitude, and he expands the adventitious image beyond the dimenſions which the occaſion required. Thus, comparing the ſhield of Satan to the orb of the Moon, he crouds the imagination with the diſcovery of the teleſcope, and all the wonders which the teleſcope diſcovers.

Of his moral ſentiments it is hardly praiſe to affirm that they excel thoſe of all other poets; for this ſuperiority he was indebted to his acquaintance with the ſacred writings. The ancient epick poets, wanting the light of Revelation, were very unſkilful teachers of virtue: their principal characters may be great, but they are not amiable. The reader may riſe from their works with a greater degree of active or paſſive fortitude, and ſometimes of prudence; but he will be able to carry away few precepts of juſtice, and none of mercy.

From the Italian writers it appears, that the advantages of even Chriſtian knowledge may be ſuppoſed in vain. Arioſto's pravity is generally known; and though the *Deliverance of Jeruſalem* may be conſidered as a ſacred ſubject, the poet has been very ſparing of moral inſtruction.

In Milton every line breathes ſanctity of thought, and purity of manners, except when the train of the narration requires the introduction of the rebellious ſpirits; and even they are compelled to acknowledge their ſubjection to God, in ſuch a manner as excites reverence, and confirms piety.

Of human beings there are but two; but thoſe two are the parents of mankind, venerable before their fall for dignity and innocence, and amiable after it for repentance and ſubmiſſion. In their firſt ſtate their affection is tender without weakneſs, and their piety ſublime without preſumption. When they have ſinned, they ſhew how diſcord begins in mutual frailty, and how it ought to ceaſe in mutual forbearance; how confidence

of the divine favour is forfeited by ſin, and how hope of pardon may be obtained by penitence and prayer. A ſtate of innocence we can only conceive, if indeed, in our preſent miſery, it be poſſible to conceive it; but the ſentiments and worſhip proper to a fallen and offending being, we have all to learn, as we have all to practiſe.

The poet, whatever be done, is always great. Our progenitors, in their firſt ſtate, converſed with angels; even when folly and ſin had degraded them, they had not in their humiliation *the port of mean ſuitors*; and they riſe again to reverential regard, when we find that their prayers were heard.

As human paſſions did not enter the world before the Fall, there is in the *Paradiſe Loſt* little opportunity for the pathetick; but what little there is has not been loſt. That paſſion which is peculiar to rational nature, the anguiſh ariſing from the conſciouſneſs of tranſgreſſion, and the horrours attending the ſenſe of the Divine Diſpleaſure, are very juſtly deſcribed and forcibly impreſſed. But the paſſions are moved only on one occaſion; ſublimity

mity is the general and prevailing quality in this poem; ſublimity variouſly modified, ſometimes deſcriptive, ſometimes argumentative.

The defects and faults of *Paradiſe Loſt*, for faults and defects every work of man muſt have, it is the buſineſs of impartial crticiſm to diſcover. As, in diſplaying the excellence of Milton, I have not made long quotations, becauſe of ſelecting beauties there had been no end, I ſhall in the ſame general manner mention that which ſeems to deſerve cenſure; for what Engliſhman can take delight in tranſcribing paſſages, which, if they leſſen the reputation of Milton, diminiſh in ſome degree the honour of our country?

The generality of my ſcheme does not admit the frequent notice of verbal inaccuracies; which Bentley, perhaps better ſkilled in grammar than in poetry, has often found, though he ſometimes made them, and which he imputed to the obtruſions of a reviſer whom the author's blindneſs obliged him to employ. A ſuppoſition raſh and groundleſs, if he thought it true; and vile and perni-

cious, if, as is ſaid, he in private allowed it to be falſe.

The plan of *Paradiſe Loſt* has this inconvenience, that it compriſes neither human actions nor human manners. The man and woman who act and ſuffer, are in a ſtate which no other man or woman can ever know. The reader finds no tranſaction in which he can be engaged; beholds no condition in which he can by any effort of imagination place himſelf; he has, therefore, little natural curioſity or ſympathy.

We all, indeed, feel the effects of Adam's diſobedience; we all ſin like Adam, and like him muſt all bewail our offences; we have reſtleſs and inſidious enemies in the fallen angels, and in the bleſſed ſpirits we have guardians and friends; in the Redemption of mankind we hope to be included: in the deſcription of heaven and hell we are ſurely intereſted, as we are all to reſide hereafter either in the regions of horror or bliſs.

But theſe truths are too important to be new; they have been taught to our infancy;

they have mingled with our ſolitary thoughts and familiar converſation, and are habitually interwoven with the whole texture of life. Being therefore not new, they raiſe no unaccuſtomed emotion in the mind; what we knew before, we cannot learn; what is not unexpected, cannot ſurpriſe.

Of the ideas ſuggeſted by theſe awful ſcenes, from ſome we recede with reverence, except when ſtated hours require their aſſociation; and from others we ſhrink with horrour, or admit them only as ſalutary inflictions, as counterpoiſes to our intereſts and paſſions. Such images rather obſtruct the career of fancy than incite it.

Pleaſure and terrour are indeed the genuine ſources of poetry; but poetical pleaſure muſt be ſuch as human imagination can at leaſt conceive, and poetical terrour ſuch as human ſtrength and fortitude may combat. The good and evil of Eternity are too ponderous for the wings of wit; the mind ſinks under them in paſſive helpleſſneſs, content with calm belief and humble adoration.

Known truths, however, may take a different appearance, and be conveyed to the mind by a new train of intermediate images. This Milton has undertaken, and performed with pregnancy and vigour of mind peculiar to himself. Whoever conſiders the few radical poſitions which the Scriptures afforded him, will wonder by what energetick operation he expanded them to ſuch extent, and ramified them to ſo much variety, reſtrained as he was by religious reverence from licentiouſneſs of fiction.

Here is a full diſplay of the united force of ſtudy and genius; of a great accumulation of materials, with judgement to digeſt, and fancy to combine them: Milton was able to ſelect from nature, or from ſtory, from ancient fable, or from modern ſcience, whatever could illuſtrate or adorn his thoughts. An accumulation of knowledge impregnated his mind, fermented by ſtudy, and exalted by imagination.

It has been therefore ſaid, without an indecent hyperbole, by one of his encomiaſts, that

that in reading *Paradiſe Loſt* we read a book of univerſal knowledge.

But original deficience cannot be ſupplied. The want of human intereſt is always felt. *Paradiſe Loſt* is one of the books which the reader admires and lays down, and forgets to take up again. None ever wiſhed it longer than it is. Its peruſal is a duty rather than a pleaſure. We read Milton for inſtruction, retire harraſſed and overburdened, and look elſewhere for recreation; we deſert our maſter, and ſeek for companions.

Another inconvenience of Milton's deſign is, that it requires the deſcription of what cannot be deſcribed, the agency of ſpirits. He ſaw that immateriality ſupplied no images, and that he could not ſhow angels acting but by inſtruments of action; he therefore inveſted them with form and matter. This, being neceſſary, was therefore defenſible; and he ſhould have ſecured the conſiſtency of his ſyſtem, by keeping immateriality out of ſight, and enticing his reader to drop it from his thoughts. But he has unhappily perplexed his poetry with his philoſophy. His infernal

and celeſtial powers are ſometimes pure ſpirit, and ſometimes animated body. When Satan walks with his lance upon the *burning marle*, he has a body; when, in his paſſage between hell and the new world, he is in danger of ſinking in the vacuity, and is ſupported by a guſt of riſing vapours, he has a body; when he animates the toad, he ſeems to be mere ſpirit, that can penetrate matter at pleaſure; when he *ſtarts up in his own ſhape*, he has at leaſt a determined form; and when he is brought before Gabriel, he has *a ſpear and a ſhield*, which he had the power of hiding in the toad, though the arms of the contending angels are evidently material.

The vulgar inhabitants of Pandæmonium, being *incorporeal ſpirits*, are *at large, though without number*, in a limited ſpace; yet in the battle, when they were overwhelmed by mountains, their armour hurt them, *cruſhed in upon their ſubſtance, now grown groſs by ſinning*. This likewiſe happened to the uncorrupted angels, who were overthrown *the ſooner for their arms, for unarmed they might eaſily as ſpirits have evaded by contraction or remove*. Even as ſpirits they are hardly ſpiritual;

ritual; for *contraction* and *remove* are images of matter; but if they could have eſcaped without their armour, they might have eſcaped from it, and left only the empty cover to be battered. Uriel, when he rides on a ſun-beam, is material; Satan is material when he is afraid of the proweſs of Adam.

The confuſion of ſpirit and matter which pervades the whole narration of the war of heaven fills it with incongruity; and the book, in which it is related, is, I believe, the favourite of children, and gradually neglected as knowledge is increaſed.

After the operation of immaterial agents, which cannot be explained, may be conſidered that of allegorical perſons, which have no real exiſtence. To exalt cauſes into agents, to inveſt abſtract ideas with form, and animate them with activity, has always been the right of poetry. But ſuch airy beings are, for the moſt part, ſuffered only to do their natural office, and retire. Thus Fame tells a tale, and Victory hovers over a general, or perches on a ſtandard; but Fame and Victory can do no more. To give them any real

real employment, or aſcribe to them any material agency, is to make them allegorical no longer, but to ſhock the mind by aſcribing effects to non-entity. In the *Prometheus* of Æſchylus, we ſee *Violence* and *Strength*, and in the *Alceſtis* of Euripides, we ſee *Death*, brought upon the ſtage, all as active perſons of the drama; but no precedents can juſtify abſurdity.

Milton's allegory of Sin and Death is undoubtedly faulty. Sin is indeed the mother of Death, and may be allowed to be the portreſs of hell; but when they ſtop the journey of Satan, a journey deſcribed as real, and when Death offers him battle, the allegory is broken. That Sin and Death ſhould have ſhewn the way to hell, might have been allowed; but they cannot facilitate the paſſage by building a bridge, becauſe the difficulty of Satan's paſſage is deſcribed as real and ſenſible, and the bridge ought to be only figurative. The hell aſſigned to the rebellious ſpirits is deſcribed as not leſs local than the reſidence of man. It is placed in ſome diſtant part of ſpace, ſeparated from the regions of harmony and order by a chaotick waſte and an unoccupied

cupied vacuity; but *Sin* and *Death* worked up a *mole* of *aggravated ſoil*, cemented with *aſphaltus*; a work too bulky for ideal architects.

This unſkilful allegory appears to me one of the greateſt faults of the poem; and to this there was no temptation, but the author's opinion of its beauty.

To the conduct of the narrative ſome objections may be made. Satan is with great expectation brought before Gabriel in Paradiſe, and is ſuffered to go away unmoleſted. The creation of man is repreſented as the conſequence of the vacuity left in heaven by the expulſion of the rebels; yet Satan mentions it as a report *riſe in heaven* before his departure.

To find ſentiments for the ſtate of innocence, was very difficult; and ſomething of anticipation perhaps is now and then diſcovered. Adam's diſcourſe of dreams ſeems not to be the ſpeculation of a new-created being. I know not whether his anſwer to the angel's reproof for curioſity does not want ſomething of propriety: it is the ſpeech of a man

man acquainted with many other men. Some philoſophical notions, eſpecially when the philoſophy is falſe, might have been better omitted. The angel, in a compariſon, ſpeaks of *timorous deer*, before deer were yet timorous, and before Adam could underſtand the compariſon.

Dryden remarks, that Milton has ſome flats among his elevations. This is only to ſay, that all the parts are not equal. In every work, one part muſt be for the ſake of others; a palace muſt have paſſages; a poem muſt have tranſitions. It is no more to be required that wit ſhould always be blazing, than that the ſun ſhould always ſtand at noon. In a great work there is a viciſſitude of luminous and opaque parts, as there is in the world a ſucceſſion of day and night. Milton, when he has expatiated in the ſky, may be allowed ſometimes to reviſit earth; for what other author ever ſoared ſo high, or ſuſtained his flight ſo long?

Milton, being well verſed in the Italian poets, appears to have borrowed often from them; and, as every man catches ſomething from

from his companions, his deſire of imitating Arioſto's levity has diſgraced his work with the *Paradiſe of Fools*; a fiction not in itſelf ill-imagined, but too ludicrous for its place.

His play on words, in which he delights too often; his equivocations, which Bentley endeavours to defend by the example of the ancients; his unneceſſary and ungraceful uſe of terms of art; it is not neceſſary to mention, becauſe they are eaſily remarked, and generally cenſured, and at laſt bear ſo little proportion to the whole, that they ſcarcely deſerve the attention of a critick.

Such are the faults of that wonderful performance *Paradiſe Loſt*; which he who can put in balance with its beauties muſt be conſidered not as nice but as dull, as leſs to be cenſured for want of candour, than pitied for want of ſenſibility.

Of *Paradiſe Regained*, the general judgement ſeems now to be right, that it is in many parts elegant, and every-where inſtructive. It was not to be ſuppoſed that the writer of *Paradiſe Loſt* could ever write without

great

great effuſions of fancy, and exalted precepts of wiſdom. The baſis of *Paradiſe Regained* is narrow; a dialogue without action can never pleaſe like an union of the narrative and dramatic powers. Had this poem been written not by Milton, but by ſome imitator, it would have claimed and received univerſal praiſe.

If *Paradiſe Regained* has been too much depreciated, *Sampſon Agoniſtes* has in requital been too much admired. It could only be by long prejudice, and the bigotry of learning, that Milton could prefer the ancient tragedies, with their encumbrance of a chorus, to the exhibitions of the French and Engliſh ſtages; and it is only by a blind confidence in the reputation of Milton, that a drama can be praiſed in which the intermediate parts have neither cauſe nor conſequence, neither haſten nor retard the cataſtrophe.

In this tragedy are however many particular beauties, many juſt ſentiments and ſtriking lines; but it wants that power of attracting the attention which a well-connected plan produces.

Milton

Milton would not have excelled in dramatick writing; he knew human nature only in the groſs, and had never ſtudied the ſhades of character, nor the combinations of concurring, or the perplexity of contending paſſions. He had read much, and knew what books could teach; but had mingled little in the world, and was deficient in the knowledge which experience muſt confer.

Through all his greater works there prevails an uniform peculiarity of *Diction*, a mode and caſt of expreſſion which bears little reſemblance to that of any former writer, and which is ſo far removed from common uſe, that an unlearned reader, when he firſt opens his book, finds himſelf ſurpriſed by a new language.

This novelty has been, by thoſe who can find nothing wrong in Milton, imputed to his laborious endeavours after words ſuitable to the grandeur of his ideas. *Our language*, ſays Addiſon, *ſunk under him*. But the truth is, that, both in proſe and verſe, he had formed his ſtyle by a perverſe and pedantick

principle. He was deſirous to uſe Engliſh words with a foreign idiom. This in all his proſe is diſcovered and condemned; for there judgment operates freely, neither ſoftened by the beauty, nor awed by the dignity of his thoughts; but ſuch is the power of his poetry, that his call is obeyed without reſiſtance, the reader feels himſelf in captivity to a higher and a nobler mind, and criticiſm ſinks in admiration.

Milton's ſtyle was not modified by his ſubject: what is ſhown with greater extent in *Paradiſe Loſt*, may be found in *Comus*. One ſource of his peculiarity was his familiarity with the Tuſcan poets: the diſpoſition of his words is, I think, frequently Italian; perhaps ſometimes combined with other tongues. Of him, at laſt, may be ſaid what Jonſon ſays of Spenſer, that *he wrote no language*, but has formed what *Butler* calls a *Babyloniſh Dialect*, in itſelf harſh and barbarous, but made by exalted genius, and extenſive learning, the vehicle of ſo much inſtruction and ſo much pleaſure, that, like other lovers, we find grace in its deformity.

What-

Whatever be the faults of his diction, he cannot want the praiſe of copiouſneſs and variety: he was maſter of his language in its full extent; and has ſelected the melodious words with ſuch diligence, that from his book alone the Art of Engliſh Poetry might be learned.

After his diction, ſomething muſt be ſaid of his *verſification*. *The meaſure*, he ſays, *is the Engliſh heroick verſe without rhyme*. Of this mode he had many examples among the Italians, and ſome in his own country. The Earl of Surrey is ſaid to have tranſlated one of Virgil's books without rhyme; and, beſides our tragedies, a few ſhort poems had appeared in blank verſe; particularly one tending to reconcile the nation to Raleigh's wild attempt upon Guiana, and probably written by Raleigh himſelf. Theſe petty performances cannot be ſuppoſed to have much influenced Milton, who more probably took his hint from Triſino's *Italia Liberata*; and, finding blank verſe eaſier than rhyme, was deſirous of perſuading himſelf that it is better.

Rhyme, he ſays, and ſays truly, *is no neceſſary adjunct of true poetry*. But perhaps, of poetry as a mental operation, metre or muſick is no neceſſary adjunct: it is however by the muſick of metre that poetry has been diſcriminated in all languages; and in languages melodiouſly conſtructed with a due proportion of long and ſhort ſyllables, metre is ſufficient. But one language cannot communicate its rules to another: where metre is ſcanty and imperfect, ſome help is neceſſary. The muſick of the Engliſh heroick line ſtrikes the ear ſo faintly that it is eaſily loſt, unleſs all the ſyllables of every line co-operate together: this co-operation can be only obtained by the preſervation of every verſe unmingled with another, as a diſtinct ſyſtem of ſounds; and this diſtinctneſs is obtained and preſerved by the artifice of rhyme. The variety of pauſes, ſo much boaſted by the lovers of blank verſe, changes the meaſures of an Engliſh poet to the periods of a declaimer; and there are only a few ſkilful and happy readers of Milton, who enable their audience to perceive where the lines end or begin. *Blank*

verſe,

verſe, ſaid an ingenious critick, *ſeems to be verſe only to the eye.*

Poetry may ſubſiſt without rhyme, but Engliſh poetry will not often pleaſe; nor can rhyme ever be ſafely ſpared but where the ſubject is able to ſupport itſelf. Blank verſe makes ſome approach to that which is called the *lapidary ſtyle*; has neither the eaſineſs of proſe, nor the melody of numbers, and therefore tires by long continuance. Of the Italian writers without rhyme, whom Milton alleges as precedents, not one is popular; what reaſon could urge in its defence, has been confuted by the ear.

But, whatever be the advantage of rhyme, I cannot prevail on myſelf to wiſh that Milton had been a rhymer; for I cannot wiſh his work to be other than it is; yet, like other heroes, he is to be admired rather than imitated. He that thinks himſelf capable of aſtoniſhing, may write blank verſe; but thoſe that hope only to pleaſe, muſt condeſcend to rhyme.

The higheſt praiſe of genius is original invention. Milton cannot be ſaid to have

contrived the ſtructure of an epick poem, and therefore owes reverence to that vigour and amplitude of mind to which all generations muſt be indebted for the art of poetical narration, for the texture of the fable, the variation of incidents, the interpoſition of dialogue, and all the ſtratagems that ſurpriſe and enchain attention. But, of all the borrowers from Homer, Milton is perhaps the leaſt indebted. He was naturally a thinker for himſelf, confident of his own abilities, and diſdainful of help or hindrance: he did not refuſe admiſſion to the thoughts or images of his predeceſſors, but he did not ſeek them. From his contemporaries he neither courted nor received ſupport; there is in his writings nothing by which the pride of other authors might be gratified, or favour gained; no exchange of praiſe, nor ſolicitation of ſupport. His great works were performed under diſcountenance, and in blindneſs, but difficulties vaniſhed at his touch; he was born for whatever is arduous; and his work is not the greateſt of heroick poems, only becauſe it is not the firſt.

BUTLER.

BUTLER.

OF the great author of Hudibras there is a life prefixed to the later editions of his poem, by an unknown writer, and therefore of diſputable authority; and ſome account is incidentally given by Wood, who confeſſes the uncertainty of his own narrative; more however than they knew cannot now be learned, and nothing remains but to compare and copy them.

SAMUEL BUTLER was born in the pariſh of Strenſham in Worceſterſhire, according to his biographer, in 1612. This account Dr. Naſh finds confirmed by the regiſter. He was chriſtened Feb. 14.

His father's condition is variouſly repreſented. Wood mentions him as competently wealthy; but Mr. Longueville, the ſon of Butler's principal friend, ſays he was an honeſt farmer with ſome ſmall eſtate, who made a ſhift to educate his ſon at the grammar ſchool of Worceſter, under Mr. Henry Bright, from whoſe care he removed for a ſhort time to Cambridge; but, for a want of money, was never made a member of any college. Wood leaves us rather doubtful whether he went to Cambridge or Oxford; but at laſt makes him paſs ſix or ſeven years at Cambridge, without knowing in what hall or college: yet it can hardly be imagined that he lived ſo long in either univerſity, but as belonging to one houſe or another; and it is ſtill leſs likely that he could have ſo long inhabited a place of learning with ſo little diſtinction as to leave his reſidence uncertain. Dr. Naſh has diſcovered that his father was owner of a houſe and a little land, worth about eight pounds a year, ſtill called *Butler's tenement.*

Wood has his information from his brother, whoſe narrative placed him at Cambridge, in

in oppoſition to that of his neighbours which ſent him to Oxford. The brother's ſeems the beſt authority, till, by confeſſing his inability to tell his hall of college, he gives reaſon to ſuſpect that he was reſolved to beſtow on him an academical education; but durſt not name a college, for fear of detection.

He was for ſome time, according to the author of his Life, clerk to Mr. Jefferys of Earl's-Croomb in Worceſterſhire, an eminent juſtice of the peace. In his ſervice he had not only leiſure for ſtudy, but for recreation: his amuſements were muſick and painting; and the reward of his pencil was the friendſhip of the celebrated Cooper. Some pictures, ſaid to be his, were ſhewn to Dr. Naſh, at Earl's Croomb; but when he enquired for them ſome years afterwards, he found them deſtroyed, to ſtop windows, and owns that they hardly deſerved a better fate.

He was afterwards admitted into the family of the Counteſs of Kent, where he had the uſe of a library; and ſo much recommended himſelf to Selden, that he was often employed by him in literary buſineſs. Selden,

as

as is well known, was ſteward to the Counteſs, and is ſuppoſed to have gained much of his wealth by managing her eſtate.

In what character Butler was admitted into that Lady's ſervice, how long he continued in it, and why he left it, is, like the other incidents of his life, utterly unknown.

The viciſſitudes of his condition placed him afterwards in the family of Sir Samuel Luke, one of Cromwell's officers. Here he obſerved ſo much of the character of the ſectaries, that he is ſaid to have written or begun his poem at this time; and it is likely that ſuch a deſign would be formed in a place where he ſaw the principles and practices of the rebels, audacious and undiſguiſed in the confidence of ſucceſs.

At length the King returned, and the time came in which loyalty hoped for its reward. Butler, however, was only made ſecretary to the Earl of Carbury, preſident of the principality of Wales; who conferred on him the ſtewardſhip of Ludlow Caſtle, when the Court of the Marcheswas revived.

In this part of his life, he married Mrs. Herbert, a gentlewoman of a good family; and lived, ſays Wood, upon her fortune, having ſtudied the common law, but never practiſed it. A fortune ſhe had, ſays his biographer, but it was loſt by bad ſecurities.

In 1663 was publiſhed the firſt part, containing three cantos, of the poem of Hudibras, which, as Prior relates, was made known at Court by the taſte and influence of the Earl of Dorſet. When it was known, it was neceſſarily admired: the king quoted, the courtiers ſtudied, and the whole party of the royaliſts applauded it. Every eye watched for the golden ſhower which was to fall upon the author, who certainly was not without his part in the general expectation.

In 1664 the ſecond part appeared; the curioſity of the nation was rekindled, and the writer was again praiſed and elated. But praiſe was his whole reward. Clarendon, ſays Wood, gave him reaſon to hope for "places and employments of value and "credit;"

" credit;" but no ſuch advantages did he ever obtain. It is reported, that the King once gave him three hundred guineas; but of this temporary bounty I find no proof.

Wood relates that he was ſecretary to Villiers Duke of Buckingham, when he was Chancellor of Cambridge: this is doubted by the other writer, who yet allows the Duke to have been his frequent benefactor. That both theſe accounts are falſe there is reaſon to ſuſpect, from a ſtory told by Packe, in his account of the Life of Wycherley, and from ſome verſes which Mr. Thyer has publiſhed in the author's remains.

" Mr. Wycherley," ſays Packe, " had al-
" ways laid hold of an opportunity which
" offered of repreſenting to the Duke of
" Buckingham how well Mr. Butler had de-
" ſerved of the royal family, by writing his
" inimitable Hudibras; and that it was a re-
" proach to the Court, that a perſon of his
" loyalty and wit ſhould ſuffer in obſcurity,
" and under the wants he did. The Duke
" always ſeemed to hearken to him with at-
" tention

" tention enough; and, after ſome time, un-
" dertook to recommend his pretenſions to
" his Majeſty. Mr. Wycherley, in hopes to
" keep him ſteady to his word, obtained of
" his Grace to name a day, when he might
" introduce that modeſt and unfortunate poet
" to his new patron. At laſt an appoint-
" ment was made, and the place of meeting
" was agreed to be the Roebuck. Mr. But-
" ler and his friend attended accordingly:
" the Duke joined them; but, as the d—l
" would have it, the door of the room where
" they ſat was open, and his Grace, who
" had ſeated himſelf near it, obſerving a
" pimp of his acquaintance (the creature too
" was a knight) trip by with a brace of La-
" dies, immediately quitted his engagement,
" to follow another kind of buſineſs, at
" which he was more ready than in doing
" good offices to men of deſert; though no
" one was better qualified than he, both in
" regard to his fortune and underſtanding, to
" protect them; and, from that time to the
" day of his death, poor Butler never found
" the leaſt effect of his promiſe!"

Such

Such is the ſtory. The verſes are written with a degree of acrimony, ſuch as neglect and diſappointment might naturally excite; and ſuch as it would be hard to imagine Butler capable of expreſſing againſt a man who had any claim to his gratitude.

Notwithſtanding this diſcouragement and neglect, he ſtill proſecuted his deſign; and in 1678 publiſhed the third part, which ſtill leaves the poem imperfect and abrupt. How much more he originally intended, or with what events the action was to be concluded, it is vain to conjecture. Nor can it be thought ſtrange that he ſhould ſtop here, however unexpectedly. To write without reward is ſufficiently unpleaſing. He had now arrived at an age when he might think it proper to be in jeſt no longer, and perhaps his health might now begin to fail.

He died in 1680; and Mr. Longueville, having unſucceſsfully ſolicited a ſubſcription for his interment in Weſtminſter Abbey, buried him at his own coſt in the church-yard of

of Covent Garden. Dr. Simon Patrick read the ſervice.

Granger was informed by Dr. Pearce, who named for his authority Mr. Lowndes of the treaſury, that Butler had an yearly penſion of an hundred pounds. This is contradicted by all tradition, by the complaints of Oldham, and by the reproaches of Dryden; and I am afraid will never be confirmed.

About ſixty years afterwards, Mr. Barber, a printer, Mayor of London, and a friend to Butler's principles, beſtowed on him a monument in Weſtminſter Abbey, thus inſcribed:

M. S.
SAMUELIS BUTLERI,
Qui *Strenſhamiæ* in agro *Vigorn.* nat. 1612,
obiit *Lond.* 1680.
Vir doctus imprimis, acer, integer;
Operibus Ingenii, non item præmiis, fœlix:
Satyrici apud nos Carminis Artifex egregius;
Quo ſimulatæ Religionis Larvam detraxit,
Et Perduellium ſcelera liberrime exagitavit:
Scriptorum in ſuo genere, Primus et Poſtremus.
Ne, cui vivo deerant ferè omnia,
Deeſſet etiam mortuo Tumulus,
Hoc tandem poſito marmore, curavit
JOHANNES BARBER, Civis *Londinenſis*, 1721.

After

After his death were publiſhed three ſmall volumes of his poſthumous works: I know not by whom collected, or by what authority aſcertained; and, lately, two volumes more have been printed by Mr. Thyer of Mancheſter, indubitably genuine. From none of theſe pieces can his life be traced, or his character diſcovered. Some verſes, in the laſt collection, ſhew him to have been among thoſe who ridiculed the inſtitution of the Royal Society, of which the enemies were for ſome time very numerous and very acrimonious, for what reaſon it is hard to conceive, ſince the philoſophers profeſſed not to advance doctrines, but to produce facts; and the moſt zealous enemy of innovation muſt admit the gradual progreſs of experience, however he may oppoſe hypothetical temerity.

In this miſt of obſcurity paſſed the life of Butler, a man whoſe name can only periſh with his language. The mode and place of his education are unknown; the events of his life are variouſly related; and all that can be told with certainty is, that he was poor.

THE

THE poem of Hudibras is one of thoſe compoſitions of which a nation may juſtly boaſt; as the images which it exhibits are domeſtick, the ſentiments unborrowed and unexpected, and the ſtrain of diction original and peculiar. We muſt not, however, ſuffer the pride, which we aſſume as the countrymen of Butler, to make any encroachment upon juſtice, nor appropriate thoſe honours which others have a right to ſhare. The poem of Hudibras is not wholly Engliſh; the original idea is to be found in the Hiſtory of Don Quixote; a book to which a mind of the greateſt powers may be indebted without diſgrace.

Cervantes ſhews a man, who having, by the inceſſant peruſal of incredible tales, ſubjected his underſtanding to his imagination, and familiariſed his mind by pertinacious meditation to trains of incredible events and ſcenes of impoſſible exiſtence, goes out in the pride of knighthood, to redreſs wrongs, and defend virgins, to reſcue captive princeſſes, and tumble uſurpers from their thrones; at-

tended by a ſquire, whoſe cunning, too low for the ſuſpicion of a generous mind, enables him often to cheat his maſter.

The hero of Butler is a Preſbyterian Juſtice, who, in the confidence of legal authority, and the rage of zealous ignorance, ranges the country to repreſs ſuperſtition and correct abuſes, accompanied by an Independent Clerk, diſputatious and obſtinate, with whom he often debates, but never conquers him.

Cervantes had ſo much kindneſs for Don Quixote, that, however he embarraſſes him with abſurd diſtreſſes, he gives him ſo much ſenſe and virtue as may preſerve our eſteem: wherever he is, or whatever he does, he is made by matchleſs dexterity commonly ridiculous, but never contemptible.

But for poor Hudibras, his poet had no tenderneſs: he chuſes not that any pity ſhould be ſhewn or reſpect paid him: he gives him up at once to laughter and contempt, without any quality that can dignify or protect him.

In

In forming the character of Hudibras, and deſcribing his perſon and habiliments, the author ſeems to labour with a tumultuous confuſion of diſſimilar ideas. He had read the hiſtory of the mock knights-errant; he knew the notions and manners of a preſbyterian magiſtrate, and tried to unite the abſurdities of both, however diſtant, in one perſonage. Thus he gives him that pedantick oſtentation of knowledge which has no relation to chivalry, and loads him with martial encumbrances that can add nothing to his civil dignity. He ſends him out *a colonelling*, and yet never brings him within ſight of war.

If Hudibras be conſidered as the repreſentative of the preſbyterians, it is not eaſy to ſay why his weapons ſhould be repreſented as ridiculous or uſeleſs; for, whatever judgement might be paſſed upon their knowledge or their arguments, experience had ſufficiently ſhown that their ſwords were not to be deſpiſed.

The hero, thus compounded of ſwaggerer and pedant, of knight and juſtice, is led

forth to action, with his ſquire Ralpho, an Independant enthuſiaſt.

Of the contexture of events planned by the author, which is called the action of the poem, ſince it is left imperfect, no judgement can be made. It is probable, that the hero was to be led through many luckleſs adventures, which would give occaſion, like his attack upon the *bear and fiddle*, to expoſe the ridiculous rigour of the ſectaries; like his encounter with Sidrophel and Whacum, to make ſuperſtition and credulity contemptible; or, like his recourſe to the low retailer of the law, diſcover the fraudulent practices of different profeſſions.

What ſeries of events he would have formed, or in what manner he would have rewarded or puniſhed his hero, it is now vain to conjecture. His work muſt have had, as it ſeems, the defect which Dryden imputes to Spenſer; the action could not have been one; there could only have been a ſucceſſion of incidents, each of which might have happened without the reſt, and which could not all co-operate to any ſingle concluſion.

The

The diſcontinuity of the action might however have been eaſily forgiven, if there had been action enough; but I believe every reader regrets the paucity of events, and complains that in the poem of Hudibras, as in the hiſtory of Thucydides, there is more ſaid than done. The ſcenes are too ſeldom changed, and the attention is tired with long converſation.

It is indeed much more eaſy to form dialogues than to contrive adventures. Every poſition makes way for an argument, and every objection dictates an anſwer. When two diſputants are engaged upon a complicated and extenſive queſtion, the difficulty is not to continue, but to end the controverſy. But whether it be that we comprehend but few of the poſſibilities of life, or that life itſelf affords little variety, every man who has tried knows how much labour it will coſt to form ſuch a combination of circumſtances, as ſhall have at once the grace of novelty and credibility, and delight fancy without violence to reaſon.

Perhaps the Dialogue of this poem is not perfect. Some power of engaging the attention might have been added to it, by quicker reciprocation, by ſeaſonable interruptions, by ſudden queſtions, and by a nearer approach to dramatick ſpritelineſs; without which, fictitious ſpeeches will always tire, however ſparkling with ſentences, and however variegated with alluſions.

The great ſource of pleaſure is variety. Uniformity muſt tire at laſt, though it be uniformity of excellence. We love to expect; and, when expectation is diſappointed or gratified, we want to be again expecting. For this impatience of the preſent, whoever would pleaſe, muſt make proviſion. The ſkilful writer *irritat*, *mulcet*, makes a due diſtribution of the ſtill and animated parts. It is for want of this artful intertexture, and thoſe neceſſary changes, that the whole of a book may be tedious, though all the parts are praiſed.

If unexhauſtible wit could give perpetual pleaſure, no eye would ever leave half-read the

the work of Butler; for what poet has ever brought ſo many remote images ſo happily together? It is ſcarcely poſſible to peruſe a page without finding ſome aſſociation of images that was never found before. By the firſt paragraph the reader is amuſed, by the next he is delighted, and by a few more ſtrained to aſtoniſhment; but aſtoniſhment is a toilſome pleaſure; he is ſoon weary of wondering, and longs to be diverted.

Omnia vult belle Matho dicere, dic aliquando
Et bene, dic neutrum, dic aliquando male.

Imagination is uſeleſs without knowledge: nature gives in vain the power of combination, unleſs ſtudy and obſervation ſupply materials to be combined. Butler's treaſures of knowledge appear proportioned to his expence; whatever topick employs his mind, he ſhews himſelf qualified to expand and illuſtrate it with all the acceſſories that books can furniſh: he is found not only to have travelled the beaten road, but the bye-paths of literature; not only to have taken general ſurveys, but to have examined particulars with minute inſpection.

If the French boaſt the learning of Rabelais, we need not be afraid of confronting them with Butler.

But the moſt valuable parts of his performance are thoſe which retired ſtudy and native wit cannot ſupply. He that merely makes a book from books may be uſeful, but can ſcarcely be great. Butler had not ſuffered life to glide beſide him unſeen or unobſerved. He had watched with great diligence the operations of human nature, and traced the effects of opinion, humour, intereſt, and paſſion. From ſuch remarks proceeded that great number of ſententious diſtichs which have paſſed into converſation, and are added as proverbial axioms to the general ſtock of practical knowledge.

When any work has been viewed and admired, the firſt queſtion of intelligent curioſity is, how was it performed? Hudibras was not a haſty effuſion; it was not produced by a ſudden tumult of imagination, or a ſhort paroxyſm of violent labour. To accumulate ſuch a maſs of ſentiments at the call of acci-

dental

dental deſire, or of ſudden neceſſity, is beyond the reach and power of the moſt active and comprehenſive mind. I am informed by Mr. Thyer of Mancheſter, the excellent editor of this author's reliques, that he could ſhew ſomething like Hudibras in proſe. He has in his poſſeſſion the common-place-book, in which Butler repoſited, not ſuch events or precepts as are gathered by reading; but ſuch remarks, ſimilitudes, alluſions, aſſemblages, or inferences, as occaſion prompted, or meditation produced; thoſe thoughts that were generated in his own mind, and might be uſefully applied to ſome future purpoſe. Such is the labour of thoſe who write for immortality.

But human works are not eaſily found without a periſhable part. Of the ancient poets every reader feels the mythology tedious and oppreſſive. Of Hudibras, the manners, being founded on opinions, are temporary and local, and therefore become every day leſs intelligible, and leſs ſtriking. What Cicero ſays of philoſophy is true likewiſe of wit and humour, that "time effaces the fictions of "opinion, and confirms the determinations

"of Nature." Such manners as depend upon ſtanding relations and general paſſions are co-extended with the race of man; but thoſe modifications of life, and peculiarities of practice, which are the progeny of error and perverſeneſs, or at beſt of ſome accidental influence or tranſient perſuaſion, muſt periſh with their parents.

Much therefore of that humour which tranſported the laſt century with merriment is loſt to us, who do not know the ſour ſolemnity, the ſullen ſuperſtition, the gloomy moroſeneſs, and the ſtubborn ſcruples of the ancient Puritans; or, if we knew them, derive our information only from books, or from tradition, have never had them before our eyes, and cannot but by recollection and ſtudy underſtand the lines in which they are ſatiriſed. Our grandfathers knew the picture from the life; we judge of the life by contemplating the picture.

It is ſcarcely poſſible, in the regularity and compoſure of the preſent time, to image the tumult of abſurdity, and clamour of contradiction, which perplexed doctrine, diſordered practice,

practice, and disturbed both publick and private quiet, in that age, when subordination was broken, and awe was hissed away; when any unsettled innovator who could hatch a half-formed notion produced it to the publick; when every man might become a preacher, and almost every preacher could collect a congregation.

The wisdom of the nation is very reasonably supposed to reside in the parliament. What can be concluded of the lower classes of the people, when in one of the parliaments summoned by Cromwell it was seriously proposed, that all the records in the Tower should be burnt, that all memory of things past should be effaced, and that the whole system of life should commence anew?

We have never been witnesses of animosities excited by the use of minced pies and plumb porridge; nor seen with what abhorrence those who could eat them at all other times of the year would shrink from them in December. An old Puritan, who was alive in my childhood, being at one of the feasts of the church invited by a neighbour to partake

take his cheer, told him, that, if he would treat him at an alehouſe with beer, brewed for all times and ſeaſons, he ſhould accept his kindneſs, but would have none of his ſuperſtitious meats or drinks.

One of the puritanical tenets was the illegality of all games of chance; and he that reads Gataker upon *Lots*, may ſee how much learning and reaſon one of the firſt ſcholars of his age thought neceſſary, to prove that it was no crime to throw a die, or play at cards, or to hide a ſhilling for the reckoning.

Aſtrology, however, againſt which ſo much of the ſatire is directed, was not more the folly of the Puritans than of others. It had in that time a very extenſive dominion. Its predictions raiſed hopes and fears in minds which ought to have rejected it with contempt. In hazardous undertakings, care was taken to begin under the influence of a propitious planet; and when the king was priſoner in Cariſbrook Caſtle, an aſtrologer was conſulted what hour would be found moſt favourable to an eſcape.

What

What effect this poem had upon the publick, whether it ſhamed impoſture or reclaimed credulity, is not eaſily determined. Cheats can ſeldom ſtand long againſt laughter. It is certain that the credit of planetary intelligence wore faſt away; though ſome men of knowledge, and Dryden among them, continued to believe that conjunctions and oppoſitions had a great part in the diſtribution of good or evil, and in the government of ſublunary things.

Poetical Action ought to be probable upon certain ſuppoſitions, and ſuch probability as burleſque requires is here violated only by one incident. Nothing can ſhew more plainly the neceſſity of doing ſomething, and the difficulty of finding ſomething to do, than that Butler was reduced to transfer to his hero the flagellation of Sancho, not the moſt agreeable fiction of Cervantes; very ſuitable indeed to the manners of that age and nation, which aſcribed wonderful efficacy to voluntary penances; but ſo remote from the practice and opinions of the Hudibraſtick time, that judgement and imagination are alike offended.

The

The diction of this poem is groſſly familiar, and the numbers purpoſely neglected, except in a few places where the thoughts by their native excellence ſecure themſelves from violation, being ſuch as mean language cannot expreſs. The mode of verſification has been blamed by Dryden, who regrets that the heroick meaſure was not rather choſen. To the critical ſentence of Dryden the higheſt reverence would be due, were not his deciſions often precipitate, and his opinions immature. When he wiſhed to change the meaſure, he probably would have been willing to change more. If he intended that, when the numbers were heroick, the diction ſhould ſtill remain vulgar, he planned a very heterogeneous and unnatural compoſition. If he preferred a general ſtatelineſs both of ſound and words, he can be only underſtood to wiſh that Butler had undertaken a different work.

The meaſure is quick, ſpritely, and colloquial, ſuitable to the vulgarity of the words and the levity of the ſentiments. But ſuch numbers and ſuch diction can gain regard only

only when they are uſed by a writer whoſe vigour of fancy and copiouſneſs of knowledge entitle him to contempt of ornaments, and who, in confidence of the novelty and juſtneſs of his conceptions, can afford to throw metaphors and epithets away. To another that conveys common thoughts in careleſs verſification, it will only be ſaid, "Pauper "videri Cinna vult, & eſt pauper." The meaning and diction will be worthy of each other, and criticiſm may juſtly doom them to periſh together.

Nor even though another Butler ſhould ariſe, would another Hudibras obtain the ſame regard. Burleſque conſiſts in a diſproportion between the ſtyle and the ſentiments, or between the adventitious ſentiments and the fundamental ſubject. It therefore, like all bodies compounded of heterogeneous parts, contains in it a principle of corruption. All diſproportion is unnatural; and from what is unnatural we can derive only the pleaſure which novelty produces. We admire it awhile as a ſtrange thing; but, when it is no longer ſtrange, we perceive its deformity. It is a kind of artifice, which by frequent repetition

tition detects itself; and the reader, learning in time what he is to expect, lays down his book, as the spectator turns away from a second exhibition of those tricks, of which the only use is to shew that they can be played.

ROCHESTER.

ROCHESTER.

JOHN WILMOT, afterwards Earl of Rocheſter, the ſon of Henry Earl of Rocheſter, better known by the title of Lord Wilmot, ſo often mentioned in Clarendon's Hiſtory, was born April 10, 1647, at Ditchley in Oxfordſhire. After a grammatical education at the ſchool of Burford, he entered a nobleman into Wadham College in 1659, only twelve years old; and in 1661, at fourteen, was, with ſome other perſons of high rank, made maſter of arts by Lord Clarendon in perſon.

He travelled afterwards into France and Italy; and, at his return, devoted himſelf to the Court. In 1665 he went to ſea with Sandwich, and diſtinguiſhed himſelf at Bergen

by uncommon intrepidity; and the next ſummer ſerved again on board Sir Edward Spragge, who, in the heat of the engagement, having a meſſage of reproof to ſend to one of his captains, could find no man ready to carry it but Wilmot, who, in an open boat, went and returned amidſt the ſtorm of ſhot.

But his reputation for bravery was not laſting: he was reproached with ſlinking away in ſtreet quarrels, and leaving his companions to ſhift as they could without him; and Sheffield Duke of Buckingham has left a ſtory of his refuſal to fight him.

He had very early an inclination to intemperance, which he totally ſubdued in his travels; but, when he became a courtier, he unhappily addicted himſelf to diſſolute and vitious company, by which his principles were corrupted, and his manners depraved. He loſt all ſenſe of religious reſtraint; and, finding it not convenient to admit the authority of laws which he was reſolved not to obey, ſheltered his wickedneſs behind infidelity.

As

As he excelled in that noiſy and licentious merriment which wine incites, his companions eagerly encouraged him in exceſs, and he willingly indulged it; till, as he confeſſed to Dr. Burnet, he was for five years together continually drunk, or ſo much inflamed by frequent ebriety, as in no interval to be maſter of himſelf.

In this ſtate he played many frolicks, which it is not for his honour that we ſhould remember, and which are not now diſtinctly known. He often purſued low amours in mean diſguiſes, and always acted with great exactneſs and dexterity the characters which he aſſumed.

He once erected a ſtage on Tower-hill, and harangued the populace as a mountebank; and, having made phyſick part of his ſtudy, is ſaid to have practiſed it ſucceſsfully.

He was ſo much in favour with King Charles, that he was made one of the gentlemen of the bedchamber, and comptroller of Woodſtock Park.

Having an active and inquisitive mind, he never, except in his paroxysms of intemperance, was wholly negligent of study: he read what is considered as polite learning so much, that he is mentioned by Wood as the greatest scholar of all the nobility. Sometimes he retired into the country, and amused himself with writing libels, in which he did not pretend to confine himself to truth.

His favourite author in French was Boileau, and in English Cowley.

Thus in a course of drunken gaiety, and gross sensuality, with intervals of study perhaps yet more criminal, with an avowed contempt of all decency and order, a total disregard to every moral, and a resolute denial of every religious obligation, he lived worthless and useless, and blazed out his youth and his health in lavish voluptuousness; till, at the age of one and thirty, he had exhausted the fund of life, and reduced himself to a state of weakness and decay.

At

At this time he was led to an acquaintance with Dr. Burnet, to whom he laid open with great freedom the tenour of his opinions, and the courſe of his life, and from whom he received ſuch conviction of the reaſonableneſs of moral duty, and the truth of Chriſtianity, as produced a total change both of his manners and opinions. The account of thoſe ſalutary conferences is given by Burnet, in a book intituled, *Some Paſſages of the Life and Death of* John *Earl of* Rocheſter; which the critick ought to read for its elegance, the philoſopher for its arguments, and the ſaint for its piety. It were an injury to the reader to offer him an abridgement.

He died July 26, 1680, before he had completed his thirty-fourth year; and was ſo worn away by a long illneſs, that life went out without a ſtruggle.

Lord Rocheſter was eminent for the vigour of his colloquial wit, and remarkable for many wild pranks and ſallies of extravagance. The glare of his general character diffuſed itſef upon his writings; the compoſitions of

a man whoſe name was heard ſo often, were certain of attention, and from many readers certain of applauſe. This blaze of reputation is not yet quite extinguiſhed; and his poetry ſtill retains ſome ſplendour beyond that which genius has beſtowed.

Wood and Burnet give us reaſon to believe, that much was imputed to him which he did not write. I know not by whom the original collection was made, or by what authority its genuineneſs was aſcertained. The firſt edition was publiſhed in the year of his death, with an air of concealment, profeſſing in the title page to be printed at *Antwerp*.

Of ſome of the pieces, however, there is no doubt. The Imitation of Horace's Satire, the Verſes to Lord Mulgrave, the Satire againſt Man, the Verſes upon *Nothing*, and perhaps ſome others, are I believe genuine, and perhaps moſt of thoſe which the late collection exhibits.

As he cannot be ſuppoſed to have found leiſure for any courſe of continued ſtudy, his pieces are commonly ſhort, ſuch as one fit of reſolution would produce.

His

His ſongs have no particular character: they tell, like other ſongs, in ſmooth and eaſy language, of ſcorn and kindneſs, diſmiſſion and deſertion, abſence and inconſtancy, with the common places of artificial courtſhip. They are commonly ſmooth and eaſy; but have little nature, and little ſentiment.

His imitation of Horace on Lucilius is not inelegant or unhappy. In the reign of Charles the Second began that adaptation, which has ſince been very frequent, of ancient poetry to preſent times; and perhaps few will be found where the paralleliſm is better preſerved than in this. The verſification is indeed ſometimes careleſs, but it is ſometimes vigorous and weighty.

The ſtrongeſt effort of his Muſe is his poem upon *Nothing*. He is not the firſt who has choſen this barren topick for the boaſt of his fertility. There is a poem called *Nihil* in Latin by *Paſſerat*, a poet and critick of the ſixteenth century in France; who, in his own epitaph, expreſſes his zeal for good poetry thus:

—Molliter oſſa quieſcent
Sint modo carminibus non onerata malis.

His works are not common, and therefore I ſhall ſubjoin his verſes.

In examining this performance, *Nothing* muſt be conſidered as having not only a negative but a kind of poſitive ſignification; as I need not fear thieves, I have *nothing*; and *nothing* is a very powerful protector. In the firſt part of the ſentence it is taken negatively; in the ſecond it is taken poſitively, as an agent. In one of Boileau's lines it was a queſtion, whether he ſhould uſe *à rien faire*, or *à ne rien faire*; and the firſt was preferred, becauſe it gave *rien* a ſenſe in ſome ſort poſitive. *Nothing* can be a ſubject only in its poſitive ſenſe, and ſuch a ſenſe is given it in the firſt line:

Nothing, thou elder brother ev'n to ſhade.

In this line, I know not whether he does not allude to a curious book *de Umbra*, by Woverus, which, having told the qualities of *Shade*, concludes with a poem in which are theſe lines:

Jam primum terram validis circumſpice clauſtris
Suſpenſam totam, decus admirabile mundi
Terraſque tractuſque maris, campoſque liquentes
Aeris & vaſti laqueata palatia cœli—
Omnibus UMBRA prior.

The poſitive ſenſe is generally preſerved, with great ſkill, through the whole poem; though ſometimes, in a ſubordinate ſenſe, the negative *nothing* is injudiciouſly mingled. Paſſerat confounds the two ſenſes.

Another of his moſt vigorous pieces is his Lampoon on Sir Car Scroop, who, in a poem called *The Praiſe of Satire*, had ſome lines like theſe *:

He who can puſh into a midnight fray
His brave companion, and then run away,
Leaving him to be murder'd in the ſtreet,
Then put it off with ſome buffoon conceit;
Him, thus diſhonour'd, for a wit you own,
And court him as top fidler of the town.

This was meant of Rocheſter, whoſe *buffoon conceit* was, I ſuppoſe, a ſaying often

* I quote from memory.

men-

mentioned, that *every Man would be a Coward if he durſt*; and drew from him thoſe furious verſes; to which Scroop made in reply an epigram, ending with theſe lines:

Thou canſt hurt no man's fame with thy ill word;
Thy pen is full as harmleſs as thy ſword.

Of the ſatire againſt *Man*, Rocheſter can only claim what remains when all Boileau's part is taken away.

In all his works there is ſprightlineſs and vigour, and every where may be found tokens of a mind which ſtudy might have carried to excellence. What more can be expected from a life ſpent in oſtentatious contempt of regularity, and ended before the abilities of many other men began to be diſplayed?

Poema

Poema Cl. V. Joannis Passeratii,

Regii in Academia Parisiensi Professoris.

Ad ornatissimum virum Ericum Memmium.

Janus adest, festæ poscunt sua dona Kalendæ,
Munus abest festis quod possim offerre Kalendis.
Siccine Castalius nobis exaruit humor?
Usque adeò ingenii nostri est exhausta facultas,
Immunem ut videat redeuntis janitor anni?
Quod nusquam est, potius nova per vestigia quæram.

Ecce autem partes dum sese versat in omnes
Invenit mea Musa NIHIL, ne despice munus.
Nam NIHIL est gemmis, NIHIL est pretiosius auro.
Huc animum, huc igitur vultus adverte benignos:
Res nova narratur quæ nulli audita priorum,
Ausonii & Graii dixerunt cætera vates,
Ausoniæ indictum NIHIL est Græcæque Camœnæ.

E cœlo quacunque Ceres sua prospicit arva,
Aut genitor liquidis orbem complectitur ulnis
Oceanus, NIHIL interitus & originis expers.
Immortale NIHIL, NIHIL omni parte beatum.

Quòd

Quòd ſi hinc majeſtas & vis divina probatur,
Num quid honore deûm, num quid dignabimur aris?
Conſpectu lucis NIHIL eſt jucundius almæ,
Vere NIHIL, NIHIL irriguo formoſius horto,
Floridius pratis, Zephyri clementius aura;
In bello ſanctum NIHIL eſt, Martiſque tumultu:
Juſtum in pace NIHIL, NIHIL eſt in fœdere tutum.
Felix cui NIHIL eſt, (fuerant hæc vota Tibullo)
Non timet inſidias: fures, incendia temnit:
Sollicitas ſequitur nullo ſub judice lites.
Ille ipſe invictis qui ſubjicit omnia fatis
Zenonis ſapiens, NIHIL admiratur & optat.
Socraticique gregis fuit iſta ſcientia quondam,
Scire NIHIL, ſtudio cui nunc incumbitur uni.
Nec quicquam in ludo mavult didiciſſe juventus,
Ad magnus quia ducit opes, & culmen honorum.
Noſce NIHIL, noſces fertur quod Pythagoreæ
Grano hærere fabæ, cui vox adjuncta negantis.
Multi Mercurio freti duce viſcera terræ
Pura liquefaciunt ſimul, & patrimonia miſcent,
Arcano inſtantes operi, & carbonibus atris,
Qui tandem exhauſti damnis, fractique labore,
Inveniunt atque inventum NIHIL uſque requirunt.

Hoc

Hoc dimetiri non ulla decempeda poſſit:
Nec numeret Libycæ numerum qui callet arenæ:
Et Phœbo ignotum NIHIL eſt, NIHIL altius aſtris.
Tùque, tibi licet eximium ſit mentis acumen,
Omnem in naturam penetrans, & in abdita rerum,
Pace tua, Memmi, NIHIL ignorare vidêris.
Sole tamen NIHIL eſt, & puro clarius igne.
Tange NIHIL, diceſque NIHIL ſine corpore tangi.
Cerne NIHIL, cerni dices NIHIL abſque colore.
Surdum audit loquitúrque NIHIL ſine voce, volátque
Abſque ope pennarum, & graditur ſine cruribus ullis.
Abſque loco motuque NIHIL per inane vagatur.
Humano generi utilius NIHIL arte medendi.
Ne rhombos igitur, neu Theſſala murmura tentet
Idalia vacuum trajectus arundine pectus,
Neu legat Idæo Dictæum in vertice gramen.
Vulneribus ſævi NIHIL auxiliatur amoris.
Vexerit & quemvis trans mœſtas portitor undas,
Ad ſuperos imo NIHIL hunc revocabit ab orco.
Inferni NIHIL inflectit præcordia regis,
Parcarúmque colos, & inexorabile penſum.
Obruta Phlegræis campis Titania pubes

Fulmineo

Fulmineo ſenſit NIHIL eſſe potentius ictu:
Porrigitur magni NIHIL extra mœnia mundi:
Diiſque NIHIL metuunt. Quid longo carmine plura
Commemorem? virtute NIHIL præſtantius ipſa,
Splendidius NIHIL eſt; NIHIL eſt Jove denique majus.
Sed tempus finem argutis imponere nugis:
Ne tibi ſi multa laudem mea carmina charta,
De NIHILO NIHILI pariant faſtidia verſus.

ROSCOMMON.

WENTWORTH DILLON, Earl of Roscommon, was the son of James Dillon and Elizabeth Wentworth, sister to the Earl of Strafford. He was born in Ireland, being the lineal descendant of Scanfield, who, never both his uncle and his godfather, gave [illegible] to the [illegible]. His father the third Earl of Roscommon, had been converted by Ussher to the protestant religion; and when the fourth rebellion broke out, Scanfield [illegible] family in great danger from the fury of the Irish, that for his safety, and [illegible] from at his own seat in Yorkshire, where he was instructed in Latin, which he learned so as to write it with purity and elegance, though he was never able to speak it [illegible] or grammar.

WENTWORTH DILLON, Earl of ROSCOMMON.

Dillon and Elizabeth Wentworth, sister to the earl of Strafford. He was born in Ireland, during the lieutenancy of Strafford, who, being both his uncle and his godfather, gave him his own surname. His father, the third earl of Roscommon, had been converted by Usher to the protestant religion; and when the popish rebellion broke out, Strafford thinking the family in great danger from the fury of the Irish, sent for his godson, and placed him at his own seat in Yorkshire, where he was educated in Latin; which he learned so as to write it with purity and elegance, though he was never able to retain the rules of grammar.

ROSCOMMON.

WENTWORTH DILLON, Earl of Roſcommon, was the ſon of James Dillon and Elizabeth Wentworth, ſiſter to the earl of Strafford. He was born in Ireland, during the lieutenancy of Strafford, who, being both his uncle and his godfather, gave him his own ſurname. His father, the third earl of Roſcommon, had been converted by Uſher to the proteſtant religion; and when the popiſh rebellion broke out, Strafford thinking the family in great danger from the fury of the Iriſh, ſent for his godſon, and placed him at his own ſeat in Yorkſhire, where he was inſtructed in Latin; which he learned ſo as to write it with purity and elegance, though he was never able to retain the rules of grammar.

Such is the account given by Mr. *Fenton*, from whoſe notes on Waller moſt of this account muſt be borrowed, though I know not whether all that he relates is certain. The inſtructer whom he aſſigns to Roſcommon is one Dr. *Hall*, by whom he cannot mean the famous *Hall*, then an old man and a biſhop.

When the ſtorm broke out upon Strafford, his houſe was a ſhelter no longer; and Dillon, by the advice of Uſher, was ſent to *Caen*, where the Proteſtants had then an univerſity, and continued his ſtudies under *Bochart*.

Young Dillon, who was ſent to ſtudy under Bochart, and who is repreſented as having already made great proficiency in literature, could not be more than nine years old. Strafford went to govern Ireland in 1633, and was put to death eight years afterwards. That he was ſent to Caen, is certain; that he was a great ſcholar, may be doubted.

At Caen he is ſaid to have had ſome preternatural intelligence of his father's death.

"The

"The lord Roſcommon, being a boy of "ten years of age, at Caen in Normandy, "one day was, as it were, madly extrava-"gant in playing, leaping, getting over "the tables, boards, &c. He was wont to "be ſober enough; they ſaid, God grant "this bodes no ill-luck to him! In the heat "of this extravagant fit, he cries out, *My "father is dead.* A fortnight after, news "came from Ireland that his father was dead. "This account I had from Mr. Knolles, "who was his governor, and then with "him,—ſince ſecretary to the earl of Straf-"ford; and I have heard his lordſhip's "relations confirm the ſame." *Aubrey's Miſcellany.*

The preſent age is very little inclined to favour any accounts of this kind, nor will the name of Aubrey much recommend it to credit: it ought not, however, to be omitted, becauſe better evidence of a fact cannot eaſily be found than is here offered, and it muſt be by preſerving ſuch relations that we may at laſt judge how much they are to be regarded. If we ſtay to examine this account, we ſhall

ſee difficulties on both ſides; here is a relation of a fact given by a man who had no intereſt to deceive, and who could not be deceived himſelf; and here is, on the other hand, a miracle which produces no effect; the order of nature is interrupted, to diſcover not a future but only a diſtant event, the knowledge of which is of no uſe to him to whom it is revealed. Between theſe difficulties, what way ſhall be found? Is reaſon or teſtimony to be rejected? I believe what Oſborne ſays of an appearance of ſanctity may be applied to ſuch impulſes or anticipations as this: *Do not wholly ſlight them, becauſe they may be true: but do not eaſily truſt them, becauſe they may be falſe.*

The ſtate both of England and Ireland was at this time ſuch, that he who was abſent from either country had very little temptation to return: and therefore Roſcommon, when he left Caen, travelled into Italy, and amuſed himſelf with its antiquities, and particularly with medals, in which he acquired uncommon ſkill.

At the Reſtoration, with the other friends of monarchy, he came to England, was made captain of the band of penſioners, and learned ſo much of the diſſoluteneſs of the court, that he addicted himſelf immoderately to gaming, by which he was engaged in frequent quarrels, and which undoubtedly brought upon him its uſual concomitants, extravagance and diſtreſs.

After ſome time a diſpute about part of his eſtate forced him into Ireland, where he was made by the duke of Ormond captain of the guards, and met with an adventure thus related by *Fenton*.

"He was at Dublin as much as ever diſ-
"tempered with the ſame fatal affection for
"play, which engaged him in one adven-
"ture that well deſerves to be related. As
"he returned to his lodgings from a gaming-
"table, he was attacked in the dark by three
"ruffians, who were employed to aſſaſſinate
"him. The Earl defended himſelf with ſo
"much reſolution, that he diſpatched one of
"the aggreſſors; whilſt a gentleman, acci-

" dentally paſſing that way, interpoſed, and " diſarmed another: the third ſecured him- " ſelf by flight. This generous aſſiſtant was " a diſbanded officer, of a good family and " fair reputation; who, by what we call the " partiality of fortune, to avoid cenſuring the " iniquities of the times, wanted even a plain " ſuit of cloaths to make a decent appearance " at the caſtle. But his lordſhip, on this " occaſion, preſenting him to the Duke of " Ormond, with great importunity prevailed " with his grace, that he might reſign his " poſt of captain of the guards to his friend; " which for about three years the gentleman " enjoyed, and, upon his death, the duke " returned the commiſſion to his generous " benefactor."

When he had finiſhed his buſineſs, he returned to London; was made Maſter of the Horſe to the Dutcheſs of York; and married the Lady Frances, daughter of the Earl of Burlington, and widow of Colonel Courteney.

He now buſied his mind with literary projects, and formed the plan of a ſociety for refining our language, and fixing its ſtandard;

in

in imitation, ſays Fenton, *of thoſe learned and polite ſocieties with which he had been acquainted abroad.* In this deſign his friend Dryden is ſaid to have aſſiſted him.

The ſame deſign, it is well known, was revived by Dr. Swift in the miniſtry of Oxford; but it has never ſince been publickly mentioned, though at that time great expectations were formed by ſome of its eſtabliſhment and its effects. Such a ſociety might, perhaps, without much difficulty, be collected; but that it would produce what is expected from it, may be doubted.

The Italian academy ſeems to have obtained its end. The language was refined, and ſo fixed that it has changed but little. The French academy thought that they refined their language, and doubtleſs thought rightly; but the event has not ſhewn that they fixed it; for the French of the preſent time is very different from that of the laſt century.

In this country an academy could be expected to do but little. If an academician's

place were profitable, it would be given by intereſt; if attendance were gratuitous, it would be rarely paid, and no man would endure the leaſt diſguſt. Unanimity is impoſſible, and debate would ſeparate the aſſembly.

But ſuppoſe the philological decree made and promulgated, what would be its authority? In abſolute governments, there is ſometimes a general reverence paid to all that has the ſanction of power, and the countenance of greatneſs. How little this is the ſtate of our country needs not to be told. We live in an age in which it is a kind of publick ſport to refuſe all reſpect that cannot be enforced. The edicts of an Engliſh academy would probably be read by many, only that they might be ſure to diſobey them.

That our language is in perpetual danger of corruption cannot be denied; but what prevention can be found? The preſent manners of the nation would deride authority, and therefore nothing is left but that every writer ſhould criticiſe himſelf.

All

All hopes of new literary inſtitutions were quickly ſuppreſſed by the contentious turbulence of King James's reign; and Roſcommon, foreſeeing that ſome violent concuſſion of the State was at hand, purpoſed to retire to Rome, alleging, that *it was beſt to ſit near the chimney when the chamber ſmoaked*; a ſentence, of which the application ſeems not very clear.

His departure was delayed by the gout; and he was ſo impatient either of hinderance or of pain, that he ſubmitted himſelf to a French empirick, who is ſaid to have repelled the diſeaſe into his bowels.

At the moment in which he expired, he uttered, with an energy of voice that expreſſed the moſt fervent devotion, two lines of his own verſion of *Dies Iræ:*

My God, my Father, and my Friend,
Do not forſake me in my end.

—He died in 1684; and was buried with great pomp in Weſtminſter-Abbey.

His poetical character is given by Mr. Fenton:

"In his writings," ſays Fenton, "we view "the image of a mind which was naturally "ſerious and ſolid; richly furniſhed and "adorned with all the ornaments of learn- "ing, unaffectedly diſpoſed in the moſt re- "gular and elegant order. His imagination "might have probably been more fruitful "and ſprightly, if his judgement had been "leſs ſevere. But that ſeverity (delivered in "a maſculine, clear, ſuccinct ſtyle) contri- "buted to make him ſo eminent in the didac- "tical manner, that no man, with juſtice, "can affirm he was ever equalled by any of "our nation, without confeſſing at the ſame "time that he is inferior to none. In ſome "other kinds of writing his genius ſeems to "have wanted fire to attain the point of per- "fection; but who can attain it?"

From this account of the riches of his mind, who would not imagine that they had been diſplayed in large volumes and numerous performances? Who would not, after the

peruſal

peruſal of this character, be ſurpriſed to find that all the proofs of this genius, and knowledge and judgement, are not ſufficient to form a ſingle book, or to appear otherwiſe than in conjunction with the works of ſome other writer of the ſame petty ſize? But thus it is that characters are written: we know ſomewhat, and we imagine the reſt. The obſervation, that his imagination would probably have been more fruitful and ſprightely if his judgement had been leſs ſevere, may be anſwered, by a remarker ſomewhat inclined to cavil, by a contrary ſuppoſition, that his judgement would probably have been leſs ſevere, if his imagination had been more fruitful. It is ridiculous to oppoſe judgement to imagination; for it does not appear that men have neceſſarily leſs of one as they have more of the other.

We muſt allow of Roſcommon, what Fenton has not mentioned ſo diſtinctly as he ought, and what is yet very much to his honour, that he is perhaps the only correct writer in verſe before Addiſon; and that, if there are not ſo many or ſo great beauties in his compoſitions as in thoſe of ſome contemporaries,

poraries, there are at leaſt fewer faults. Nor is this his higheſt praiſe; for Mr. Pope has celebrated him as the only moral writer of King Charles's reign:

> Unhappy Dryden! in all Charles's days,
> Roſcommon only boaſts unſpotted lays.

His great work is his Eſſay on Tranſlated Verſe; of which Dryden writes thus in the preface to his Miſcellanies:

"It was my Lord Roſcommon's Eſſay on "Tranſlated Verſe," ſays Dryden, "which "made me uneaſy, till I tried whether or no "I was capable of following his rules, and "of reducing the ſpeculation into practice. "For many a fair precept in poetry is like a "ſeeming demonſtration in mathematicks, "very ſpecious in the diagram, but failing "in the mechanick operation. I think I have "generally obſerved his inſtructions; I am "ſure my reaſon is ſufficiently convinced "both of their truth and uſefulneſs; which, "in other words, is to confeſs no leſs a vanity "than to pretend that I have, at leaſt in ſome "places, made examples to his rules."

This

This declaration of Dryden will, I am afraid, be found little more than one of thoſe curſory civilities which one author pays to another; for when the ſum of lord Roſcommon's precepts is collected, it will not be eaſy to diſcover how they can qualify their reader for a better performance of tranſlation than might have been attained by his own reflections.

He that can abſtract his mind from the elegance of the poetry, and confine it to the ſenſe of the precepts, will find no other direction than that the author ſhould be ſuitable to the tranſlator's genius; that he ſhould be ſuch as may deſerve a tranſlation; that he who intends to tranſlate him ſhould endeavour to underſtand him; that perſpicuity ſhould be ſtudied, and unuſual and uncouth names ſparingly inſerted; and that the ſtyle of the original ſhould be copied in its elevation and depreſſion. Theſe are the rules that are celebrated as ſo definite and important; and for the delivery of which to mankind ſo much honour has been paid. Roſcommon has indeed deſerved his praiſes, had they been

been given with deſcernment, and beſtowed not on the rules themſelves, but the art with which they are introduced, and the decorations with which they are adorned.

The Eſſay, though generally excellent, is not without its faults. The ſtory of the Quack, borrowed from Boileau, was not worth the importation: he has confounded the Britiſh and Saxon mythology;

I grant that from ſome moſſy idol oak,
In double rhymes, our *Thor* and *Woden* ſpoke.

The oak, as I think Gildon has obſerved, belonged to the Britiſh druids, and *Thor* and *Woden* were Saxon deities. Of the *double rhymes*, which he ſo liberally ſuppoſes, he certainly had no knowledge.

His interpoſition of a long paragraph of blank verſes is unwarrantably licentious. Latin poets might as well have introduced a ſeries of iambicks among their heroicks.

His

His next work is the tranſlation of the Art of poetry; which has received, in my opinion, not leſs praiſe than it deſerves. Blank verſe, left merely to its numbers, has little operation either on the ear or mind: it can hardly ſupport itſelf without bold figures and ſtriking images. A poem frigidly didactick, without rhyme, is ſo near to proſe, that the reader only ſcorns it for pretending to be verſe.

Having diſentangled himſelf from the difficulties of rhyme, he may juſtly be expected to give the ſenſe of Horace with great exactneſs, and to ſuppreſs no ſubtilty of ſentiment for the difficulty of expreſſing it. This demand, however, his tranſlation will not ſatisfy; what he found obſcure, I do not know that he has ever cleared.

Among his ſmaller works, the Eclogue of Virgil and the *Dies Iræ* are well tranſlated; though the beſt line in the *Dies Iræ* is borrowed from Dryden. In return, ſucceeding poets have borrowed from Roſcommon.

In the verſes on the Lap-dog, the pronouns *thou* and *you* are offenſively confounded; and the turn at the end is from Waller.

His verſions of the two odes of Horace are made with great liberty, which is not recompenſed by much elegance or vigour.

His poetical verſes are ſpritely, and when they were written muſt have been very popular.

Of the ſcene of *Guarini*, and the prologue to *Pompey*, Mrs. Phillips, in her letters to Sir Charles Cotterel, has given the hiſtory.

"Lord Roſcommon," ſays ſhe, "is cer-
"tainly one of the moſt promiſing young
"noblemen in Ireland. He has paraphraſed a
"Pſalm admirably, and a ſcene of *Paſtor*
"*Fido* very finely, in ſome places much bet-
"ter than Sir Richard Fanſhaw. This was
"undertaken merely in compliment to me,
"who happened to ſay that it was the beſt
"ſcene in Italian, and the worſt in Engliſh.

"He

"He was only two hours about it. It begins "thus:

"Dear happy groves, and you the dark retreat
"Of ſilent horrour, Reſt's eternal ſeat."

From theſe lines, which are ſince ſomewhat mended, it appears that he did not think a work of two hours fit to endure the eye of criticiſm without reviſal.

When Mrs. Phillips was in Ireland, ſome ladies that had ſeen her tranſlation of Pompey, reſolved to bring it on the ſtage at Dublin; and, to promote their deſign, Lord Roſcommon gave them a prologue, and Sir Edward Dering an Epilogue; "which," ſays ſhe, "are the beſt performances of thoſe "kinds I ever ſaw." If this is not criticiſm, it is at leaſt gratitude. The thought of bringing Cæſar and Pompey into Ireland, the only Country over which Cæſar never had any power, is lucky.

Of Roſcommon's works, the judgement of the publick ſeems to be right. He is elegant, but not great; he never labours after

exquiſite beauties, and he ſeldom falls into groſs faults. His verſification is ſmooth, but rarely vigorous, and his rhymes are remarkably exact. He improved taſte, if he did not enlarge knowledge, and may be numbered among the benefactors to Engliſh literature.

OTWAY.

OTWAY.

OF THOMAS OTWAY, one of the firſt names in the Engliſh drama, little is known; nor is there any part of that little which his biographer can take pleaſure in relating.

He was born at Trottin in Suſſex, March 3, 1651, the ſon of Mr. Humphry Otway, rector of *Woolbedding*. From Wincheſter-ſchool, where he was educated, he was entered in 1669 a commoner of Chriſt-church; but left the univerſity without a degree, whether for want of money, or from impatience of academical reſtraint, or mere eagerneſs to mingle with the world, is not known.

It ſeems likely that he was in hope of being buſy and conſpicuous: for he went to London, and commenced player; but found himſelf unable to gain any reputation on the ſtage.

This kind of inability he ſhared with Shakſpeare and Jonſon, as he ſhared likewiſe ſome of their excellences. It ſeems reaſonable to expect that a great dramatick poet ſhould without difficulty become a great actor; that he who can feel, could expreſs; that he who can excite paſſion, ſhould exhibit with great readineſs its external modes: but ſince experience has fully proved that of thoſe powers, whatever be their affinity, one may be poſſeſſed in a great degree by him who has very little of the other; it muſt be allowed that they depend upon different faculties, or on different uſe of the ſame faculty; that the actor muſt have a pliancy of mien, a flexibility of countenance, and a variety of tones, which the poet may be eaſily ſuppoſed to want; or that the attention of the poet and the player have been differently employed; the one has been conſidering thought, and the

the other action; one has watched the heart, and the other contemplated the face.

Though he could not gain much notice as a player, he felt in himſelf ſuch powers as might qualify for a dramatick author; and in 1675, his twenty-fifth year, produced *Alcibiades*, a tragedy; whether from the *Alcibiade* of *Palaprat*, I have not means to enquire. Langbain, the great detector of plagiariſm, is ſilent.

In 1677 he publiſhed *Titus and Berenice*, tranſlated from ~~Rapin~~; with the *Cheats of Scapin* from Moliere; and in 1678 *Friendſhip in Faſhion*, a comedy, which, whatever might be its firſt reception, was, upon its revival at Drury-lane in 1749, hiſſed off the ſtage for immorality and obſcenity.

Want of morals, or of decency, did not in thoſe days exclude any man from the company of the wealthy and the gay, if he brought with him any powers of entertainment; and Otway is ſaid to have been at this time a favourite companion of the diſſolute wits. But, as he who deſires no virtue in

his companion has no virtue in himſelf, thoſe whom Otway frequented had no purpoſe of doing more for him than to pay his reckoning. They deſired only to drink and laugh; their fondneſs was without benevolence, and their familiarity without friendſhip. Men of wit, ſays one of Otway's biographers, received at that time no favour from the Great but to ſhare their riots; *from which they were diſmiſſed again to their own narrow circumſtances. Thus they languiſhed in poverty without the ſupport of imminence.*

Some exception, however, muſt be made. The Earl of Plymouth, one of King Charles's natural ſons, procured for him a cornet's commiſſion in ſome troops then ſent into Flanders. But Otway did not proſper in his military character; for he ſoon left his commiſſion behind him, whatever was the reaſon, and came back to London in extreme indigence; which Rocheſter mentions with mercileſs inſolence in the *Seſſion of the Poets*:

Tom Otway came next, Tom Shadwell's dear
zany,
And ſwears for heroicks he writes beſt of any;

Don

Don Carlos his pockets ſo amply had fill'd,
That his mange was quite cured, and his lice were all kill'd.
But Apollo had ſeen his face on the ſtage,
And prudently did not think fit to engage
The ſcum of a play-houſe, for the prop of an age.

Don Carlos, from which he is repreſented as having received ſo much benefit, was played in 1675. It appears, by the Lampoon, to have had great ſucceſs, and is ſaid to have been played thirty nights together. This however it is reaſonable to doubt, as ſo long a continuance of one play upon the ſtage is a very wide deviation from the practice of that time; when the ardour for theatrical entertainments was not yet diffuſed through the whole people, and the audience, conſiſting nearly of the ſame perſons, could be drawn together only by variety.

The *Orphan* was exhibited in 1680. This is one of the few plays that keep poſſeſſion of the ſtage, and has pleaſed for almoſt a century, through all the viciſſitudes of dramatick faſhion. Of this play nothing new can eaſily be ſaid. It is a domeſtick tragedy drawn

from middle life. Its whole power is upon the affections; for it is not written with much comprehenſion of thought, or elegance of expreſſion. But if the heart is intereſted, many other beauties may be wanting, yet not be miſſed.

The ſame year produced *The Hiſtory and Fall of Caius Marius*; much of which is borrowed from the *Romeo and Juliet* of Shakſpeare.

In 1683 was publiſhed the firſt, and next year the ſecond, parts of *The Soldier's Fortune*, two comedies now forgotten; and in 1685 his laſt and greateſt dramatick work, *Venice preſerved*, a tragedy, which ſtill continues to be one of the favourites of the publick, notwithſtanding the want of morality in the original deſign, and the deſpicable ſcenes of vile comedy with which he has diverſified his tragick action. By comparing this with his *Orphan*, it will appear that his images were by time become ſtronger, and his language more energetick. The ſtriking paſſages are in every mouth; and the publick ſeems to judge rightly of the faults and excellences

of

of this play, that it is the work of a man not attentive to decency, nor zealous for virtue; but of one who conceived forcibly, and drew originally, by conſulting nature in his own breaſt.

Together with thoſe plays he wrote the poems which are in the late collection, and tranſlated from the French the *Hiſtory of the Triumvirate*.

All this was performed before he was thirty-four years old; for he died April 14, 1685, in a manner which I am unwilling to mention. Having been compelled by his neceſſities to contract debts, and hunted, as is ſuppoſed, by the terriers of the law, he retired to a publick houſe on Tower-hill, where he is ſaid to have died of want; or, as it is related by one of his biographers, by ſwallowing, after a long faſt, a piece of bread which charity had ſupplied. He went out, as is reported, almoſt naked, in the rage of hunger, and finding a gentleman in a neighbouring coffee-houſe, aſked him for a ſhilling. The gentleman gave him a guinea; and Otway going away bought a roll, and was

choaked with the firſt mouthful. All this, I hope, is not true; and there is this ground of better hope, that Pope who lived near enough to be well informed, relates in Spence's memorials, that he died of a fever caught by violent purſuit of a thief that had robbed one of his friends. But that indigence, and its concomitants, ſorrow and deſpondency, preſſed hard upon him, has never been denied, whatever immediate cauſe might bring him to the grave.

Of the poems which the late collection admits, the longeſt is the *Poet's Complaint of his Muſe*, part of which I do not underſtand; and in that which is leſs obſcure I find little to commend. The language is often groſs, and the numbers are harſh. Otway had not much cultivated verſification, nor much repleniſhed his mind with general knowledge. His principal power was in moving the paſſions, to which Dryden * in his latter years left an illuſtrious teſtimony. He appears, by ſome of his verſes, to have been a zealous royaliſt: and had what was in thoſe times the common reward of loyalty; he lived and died neglected.

* In his preface to Freſnoy's *Art of Painting*

WALLER.

EDMUND WALLER was born on the third of March, 1605, at Colſhill in Hertfordſhire. His father was Robert Waller, Eſquire, of Agmondeſham in Buckinghamſhire, whoſe family was originally a branch of the Kentiſh Wallers; and his mother was the daughter of John Hampden, of Hampden in the ſame county, and ſiſter to Hampden, the zealot of rebellion.

His father died while he was yet an infant, but left him an yearly income of three thouſand five hundred pounds; which, rating together the value of money and the cuſtoms of life, we may reckon more than equivalent to ten thouſand at the preſent time.

He

He was educated, by the care of his mother, at Eaton; and removed afterwards to King's College in Cambridge. He was ſent to parliament in his eighteenth, if not in his ſixteenth year, and frequented the court of James the Firſt, where he heard a very remarkable converſation, which the writer of the Life prefixed to his Works, who ſeems to have been well informed of facts, though he may ſometimes err in chronology, has delivered as indubitably certain.

"He found Dr. Andrews, biſhop of Win-
"cheſter, and Dr. Neale, biſhop of Durham,
"ſtanding behind his Majeſty's chair; and
"there happened ſomething extraordinary,"
continues this writer, "in the converſation
"thoſe prelates had with the king, on which
"Mr. Waller did often reflect. His Majeſty
"aſked the biſhops, "My Lords, cannot I
"take my ſubjects money, when I want it,
"without all this formality of parliament?"
"The biſhop of Durham readily anſwered,
"'God forbid, Sir, but you ſhould: you are
"the breath of our noſtrils.' Whereupon the
"King turned and ſaid to the biſhop of Win-
"cheſter,

" cheſter, " Well, my Lord, what ſay you ?"
" ' Sir,' replied the biſhop, 'I have no ſkill to
" judge of parliamentary caſes.' The King
" anſwered, " No put-offs, my Lord ; anſwer
" me preſently." ' Then, Sir,' ſaid he, ' I
" think it is lawful for you to take my brother
" Neale's money ; for he offers it.' Mr.
" Waller ſaid, the company was pleaſed with
" this anſwer, and the wit of it ſeemed to
" affect the King ; for, a certain lord coming
" in ſoon after, his Majeſty cried out, " Oh,
" my lord, they ſay you lig with my Lady."
" ' No, Sir,' ſays his Lordſhip in confuſion;' but
" I like her company, becauſe ſhe has ſo much
" wit.' " Why then," ſays the King, " do you
" not lig with my Lord of Wincheſter there ?"

Waller's political and poetical life began nearly together. In his eighteenth year he wrote the poem that appears firſt in his works, on " the Prince's Eſcape at St. Andero;" a piece which juſtifies the obſervation made by one of his editors, that he attained, by a felicity like inſtinct, a ſtyle which perhaps will never be obſolete ; and that, " were we " to judge only by the wording, we could " not know what was wrote at twenty, and " what

"what at fourſcore." His verſification was, in his firſt eſſay, ſuch as it appears in his laſt performance. By the peruſal of Fairfax's tranſlation of Taſſo, to which, as * Dryden relates, he confeſſed himſelf indebted for the ſmoothneſs of his numbers, and by his own nicety of obſervation, he had already formed ſuch a ſyſtem of metrical harmony as he never afterwards much needed, or much endeavoured, to improve. Denham corrected his numbers by experience, and gained ground gradually upon the ruggedneſs of his age; but what was acquired by Denham, was inherited by Waller.

The next poem, of which the ſubject ſeems to fix the time, is ſuppoſed by Mr. Fenton to be the Addreſs to the Queen, which he conſiders as congratulating her arrival, in Waller's twentieth year. He is apparently miſtaken; for the mention of the nation's obligations to her frequent pregnancy, proves that it was written when ſhe had brought many children. We have therefore no date of any other poetical production before that which the murder of the Duke of

* Preface to his Fables.

Buck-

Buckingham occaſioned: the ſteadineſs with which the King received the news in the chapel, deſerved indeed to be reſcued from oblivion.

Neither of theſe pieces that ſeem to carry their own dates, could have been the ſudden effuſion of fancy. In the verſes on the Prince's eſcape, the prediction of his marriage with the princeſs of France, muſt have been written after the event; in the other, the promiſes of the King's kindneſs to the deſcendants of Buckingham, which could not be properly praiſed till it had appeared by its effects, ſhew that time was taken for reviſion and improvement. It is not known that they were publiſhed till they appeared long afterwards with other poems.

Waller was not one of thoſe idolaters of praiſe who cultivate their minds at the expence of their fortunes. Rich as he was by inheritance, he took care early to grow richer by marrying Mrs. Banks, a great heireſs in the city, whom the intereſt of the court was employed to obtain for Mr. Crofts. Having brought him a ſon, who died young, and a daughter,

daughter, who was afterwards married to Mr. Dormer of Oxfordſhire, ſhe died in child-bed, and left him a widower of about five and twenty, gay and wealthy, to pleaſe himſelf with another marriage.

Being too young to reſiſt beauty, and probably too vain to think himſelf reſiſtible, he fixed his heart, perhaps half fondly and half ambitiouſly, upon the Lady Dorothea Sidney, eldeſt daughter of the Earl of Leiceſter, whom he courted by all the poetry in which Sachariſſa is celebrated; the name is derived from the Latin appellation of *ſugar*, and implies, if it means any thing, a ſpiritleſs mildneſs, and dull good-nature, ſuch as excites rather tenderneſs than eſteem, and ſuch as, though always treated with kindneſs, is never honoured or admired.

Yet he deſcribes Sachariſſa as a ſublime predominating beauty, of lofty charms, and imperious influence, on whom he looks with amazement rather than fondneſs, whoſe chains he wiſhes, though in vain, to break, and whoſe preſence is *wine* that *inflames to madneſs*.

His

His acquaintance with this high-born dame gave wit no opportunity of boaſting its influence; ſhe was not to be ſubdued by the powers of verſe, but rejected his addreſſes, it is ſaid, with diſdain, and drove him away to ſolace his diſappointment with Amoret or Phillis. She married in 1639 the Earl of Sunderland, who died at Newberry in the king's cauſe; and, in her old age, meeting ſomewhere with Waller, aſked him, when he would again write ſuch verſes upon her; "When you are as young, Madam," ſaid he, "and as handſome, as you were then."

In this part of his life it was that he was known to Clarendon, among the reſt of the men who were eminent in that age for genius and literature; but known ſo little to his advantage, that they who read his character will not much condemn Sachariſſa, that ſhe did not deſcend from her rank to his embraces, nor think every excellence compriſed in wit.

The Lady was, indeed, inexorable; but his uncommon qualifications, though they had no power upon her, recommended him

to

to the ſcholars and ſtateſmen; and undoubtedly many beauties of that time, however they might receive his love, were proud of his praiſes. Who they were, whom he dignifies with poetical names, cannot now be known. Amoret, according to Mr. Fenton, was the Lady Sophia Murray. Perhaps by traditions preſerved in families more may be diſcovered.

From the verſes written at Penſhurſt, it has been collected that he diverted his diſappointment by a voyage; and his biographers, from his poem on the Whales, think it not improbable that he viſited the Bermudas; but it ſeems much more likely that he ſhould amuſe himſelf with forming an imaginary ſcene, than that ſo important an incident, as a viſit to America, ſhould have been left floating in conjectural probability.

From his twenty-eighth to his thirty-fifth year, he wrote his pieces on the Reduction of Sallee; on the Reparation of St. Paul's; to the King on his Navy; the panegyrick on the Queen Mother; the two poems to the Earl of Northumberland; and perhaps others,

others, of which the time cannot be diſcovered.

When he had loſt all hopes of Sachariſſa, he looked round him for an eaſier conqueſt, and gained a Lady of the family of Breſſe, or Breaux. The time of his marriage is not exactly known. It has not been diſcovered that this wife was won by his poetry; nor is any thing told of her, but that ſhe brought him many children. He doubtleſs praiſed ſome whom he would have been afraid to marry; and perhaps married one whom he would have been aſhamed to praiſe. Many qualities contribute to domeſtick happineſs, upon which poetry has no colours to beſtow; and many airs and ſallies may delight imagination, which he who flatters them never can approve. There are charms made only for diſtant admiration. No ſpectacle is nobler than a blaze.

Of this wife, his biographers have recorded that ſhe gave him five ſons and eight daughters.

During the long interval of parliament, he is repreſented as living among thoſe with

whom it was moſt honourable to converſe, and enjoying an exuberant fortune with that independence and liberty of ſpeech and conduct which wealth ought always to produce. He was however conſidered as the kinſman of Hampden, and was therefore ſuppoſed by the courtiers not to favour them.

When the parliament was called in 1640, it appeared that Waller's political character had not been miſtaken. The King's demand of a ſupply produced one of thoſe noiſy ſpeeches which diſaffection and diſcontent regularly dictate; a ſpeech filled with hyperbolical complaints of imaginary grievances. "They," ſays he, "who think themſelves "already undone can never apprehend themſelves in danger, and they who have nothing "left can never give freely." Political truth is equally in danger from the praiſes of courtiers, and the exclamations of patriots.

He then proceeds to rail at the clergy, being ſure at that time of a favourable audience. His topick is ſuch as will always ſerve its purpoſe; an accuſation of acting and preaching only for preferment: and he exhorts

horts the Commons *carefully* to *provide* for their *protection againſt Pulpit Law.*

It always gratifies curioſity to trace a ſentiment. Waller has in this ſpeech quoted Hooker in one paſſage; and in another has copied him, without quoting. "Religion," ſays Waller, "ought to be the firſt thing in "our purpoſe and deſires; but that which is "firſt in dignity is not always to precede in "order of time; for well-being ſuppoſes a "being; and the firſt impediment which "men naturally endeavour to remove, is the "want of thoſe things without which they "cannot ſubſiſt. God firſt aſſigned unto "Adam maintenance of life, and gave him "a title to the reſt of the creatures before he "appointed a law to obſerve."

"God firſt aſſigned Adam," ſays Hooker, "maintenance of life, and then appointed "him a law to obſerve.—True it is, that the "kingdom of God muſt be the firſt thing in "our purpoſe and deſires; but inaſmuch as a "righteous life preſuppoſeth life, inaſmuch "as to live virtuouſly it is impoſſible, except "we live; therefore the firſt impediment

" which naturally we endeavour to remove is
" penury, and want of things without which
" we cannot live."

The ſpeech is vehement; but the great poſition, that grievances ought to be redreſſed before ſupplies are granted, is agreeable enough to law and reaſon: nor was Waller, if his biographer may be credited, ſuch an enemy to the King, as not to wiſh his diſtreſſes lightened; for he relates, " that the
" King ſent particularly to Waller, to ſecond
" his demand of ſome ſubſidies to pay off
" the army; and Sir Henry Vane objecting
" againſt firſt voting a ſupply, becauſe the
" King would not accept unleſs it came up
" to his proportion, Mr. Waller ſpoke ear-
" neſtly to Sir Thomas Jermyn, comptroller
" of the houſehold, to ſave his maſter from
" the effects of ſo bold a falſity; 'for, he
" ſaid, I am but a country gentleman, and
" cannot pretend to know the King's mind:'
" but Sir Thomas durſt not contradict the
" ſecretary; and his ſon, the Earl of St.
" Albans, afterwards told Mr. Waller, that
" his father's cowardice ruined the King."

In

In the Long Parliament, which, unhappily for the nation, met Nov. 3, 1640, Waller repreſented Agmondeſham the third time; and was conſidered by the diſcontented party as a man ſufficiently truſty and acrimonious to be employed in managing the proſecution of Judge Crawley, for his opinion in favour of ſhip-money; and his ſpeech ſhews that he did not diſappoint their expectations. He was probably the more ardent, as his uncle Hampden had been particularly engaged in the diſpute, and by a ſentence which ſeems generally to be thought unconſtitutional particularly injured.

He was not however a bigot to his party, nor adopted all their opinions. When the great queſtion, whether Epiſcopacy ought to be aboliſhed, was debated, he ſpoke againſt the innovation ſo coolly, ſo reaſonably, and ſo firmly, that it is not without great injury to his name that his ſpeech, which was as follows, has been hitherto omitted in his works:

* "There is no doubt but the ſenſe of "what this nation hath ſuffered from the "preſent Biſhops, hath produced theſe com- "plaints; and the apprehenſions men have "of ſuffering the like, in time to come, make "ſo many deſire the taking away of Epiſco- "pacy: but I conceive it is poſſible that we "may not, now, take a right meaſure of the "minds of the people by their petitions; "for, when they ſubſcribed them, the Biſhops "were armed with a dangerous commiſſion "of making new canons, impoſing new oaths, "and the like; but now we have diſarmed "them of that power. Theſe petitioners, "lately, did look upon Epiſcopacy as a beaſt "armed with horns and claws; but now "that we have cut and pared them, (and "may, if we ſee cauſe, yet reduce it into "narrower bounds) it may, perhaps, be more "agreeable. Howſoever, if they be ſtill in "paſſion, it becomes us ſoberly to conſider "the right uſe and antiquity thereof; and "not to comply further with a general deſire, "than may ſtand with a general good.

* This ſpeech has been retrieved, from a paper printed at that time, by the writers of the Parliamentary Hiſtory.

"We

" We have already ſhewed, that eſpiſco-
" pacy, and the evils thereof, are mingled
" like water, and oil; we have alſo, in part,
" ſevered them; but I believe you will find,
" that our laws and the preſent government
" of the church are mingled like wine and
" water; ſo inſeparable, that the abrogation
" of, at leaſt, a hundred of our laws is
" deſired in theſe petitions. I have often
" heard a noble anſwer of the Lords, com-
" mended in this houſe, to a propoſition of
" like nature, but of leſs conſequence; they
" gave no other reaſon of their refuſal but
" this, *Nolumus mutare Leges Angliæ:* it was
" the biſhops who ſo anſwered then; and it
" would become the dignity and wiſdom of
" this houſe to anſwer the people, now, with
" a *Nolumus mutare*.

" I ſee ſome are moved with a number of
" hands againſt the Biſhops; which, I con-
" feſs, rather inclines me to their defence:
" for I look upon epiſcopacy as a counterſcarp,
" or out-work; which, if it be taken by this
" aſſault of the people, and, withall, this
" myſtery once revealed, *That we muſt deny*

" *them nothing when they aſk it thus in troops*,
" we may, in the next place, have as hard
" a taſk to defend our property, as we have
" lately had to recover it from the Preroga-
" tive. If, by multiplying hands and peti-
" tions, they prevail for an equality in things
" eccleſiaſtical, the next demand perhaps may
" be *Lex Agraria*, the like equality in things
" temporal.

" The Roman ſtory tells us, That when
" the people began to flock about the ſenate,
" and were more curious to direct and know
" what was done, than to obey, that Com-
" mon-wealth ſoon came to ruin: their *Legem*
" *rogare* grew quickly to be a *Legem ferre*;
" and after, when their legions had found
" that they could make a Dictator, they never
" ſuffered the ſenate to have a voice any more
" in ſuch election.

" If theſe great innovations proceed, I
" ſhall expect a flat and level in learning too,
" as well as in church-preferments: *Honos*
" *alit Artes*. And though it be true, that
" grave and pious men do ſtudy for learning-
" ſake, and embrace virtue for itſelf; yet it
" is

" is true, that youth, which is the ſeaſon
" when learning is gotten, is not without
" ambition; nor will ever take pains to ex-
" cell in any thing, when there is not ſome
" hope of excelling others in reward and
" dignity.

" There are two reaſons chiefly alleged
" againſt our church-government.

" Firſt, Scripture, which, as ſome men
" think, points out another form.

" Second, The abuſes of the preſent ſu-
" periors.

" For Scripture, I will not diſpute it in
" this place; but I am confident that, when-
" ever an equal diviſion of lands and goods
" ſhall be deſired, there will be as many
" places in Scripture found out, which
" ſeem to favour that, as there are now al-
" leged againſt the prelacy or preferment in
" the church. And, as for abuſes, where
" you are now, in the Remonſtrance, told,
" what this and that poor man hath ſuffered
" by the biſhops, you may be preſented with
" a thouſand inſtances of poor men that

" have

" have received hard meaſure from their " landlords; and of worldly goods abuſed, to " the injury of others, and diſadvantage of " the owners.

" And therefore, Mr. Speaker, my hum- " ble motion is, That we may ſettle men's " minds herein; and, by a queſtion, declare " our reſolution, *to reform*, that is *not to* " *aboliſh*, *Epiſcopacy*."

It cannot but be wiſhed that he, who could ſpeak in this manner, had been able to act with ſpirit and uniformity.

When the Commons began to ſet the royal authority at open defiance, Waller is ſaid to have withdrawn from the houſe, and to have returned with the king's permiſſion; and, when the king ſet up his ſtandard, he ſent him a thouſand broad-pieces. He continued, however, to ſit in the rebellious conventicle; but " ſpoke," ſays Clarendon, " with great " ſharpneſs and freedom, which, now there " was no danger of being outvoted, was not " reſtrained; and therefore uſed as an argu- " ment againſt thoſe who were gone upon " pretence that they were not ſuffered to de- " liver their opinion freely in the houſe,

" which

"which could not be believed, when all "men knew what liberty Mr. Waller took, "and ſpoke every day with impunity againſt "the ſenſe and proceedings of the houſe."

Waller, as he continued to ſit, was one of the commiſſioners nominated by the parliament to treat with the king at Oxford; and when they were preſented, the King ſaid to him, "Though you are the laſt, you are "not the loweſt nor the leaſt in my favour." Whitlock, who, being another of the commiſſioners, was witneſs of this kindneſs, imputes it to the king's knowledge of the plot, in which Waller appeared afterwards to have been engaged againſt the parliament. Fenton, with equal probability, believes that his attempt to promote the royal cauſe aroſe from his ſenſibility of the king's tenderneſs. Whitlock ſays nothing of his behaviour at Oxford: he was ſent with ſeveral others to add pomp to the commiſſion, but was not one of thoſe to whom the truſt of treating was imparted.

The engagement, known by the name of Waller's plot, was ſoon afterwards diſcovered. Waller had a brother-in-law, Tomkyns, who was

was clerk of the Queen's council, and at the ſame time had a very numerous acquaintance, and great influence, in the city. Waller and he, converſing with great confidence, told both their own ſecrets and thoſe of their friends; and, ſurveying the wide extent of their converſation, imagined that they found in the majority of all ranks great diſapprobation of the violence of the Commons, and unwillingneſs to continue the war. They knew that many favoured the king, whoſe fear concealed their loyalty; and many deſired peace, though they durſt not oppoſe the clamour for war; and they imagined that if thoſe who had theſe good intentions could be informed of their own ſtrength, and enabled by intelligence to act together, they might overpower the fury of ſedition, by refuſing to comply with the ordinance for the twentieth part, and the other taxes levied for the ſupport of the rebel army, and by uniting great numbers in a petition for peace. They proceeded with great caution. Three only met in one place, and no man was allowed to impart the plot to more than two others, ſo that if any ſhould be ſuſpected or ſeized, more than three could not be endangered.

Lord

Lord Conway joined in the deſign, and, Clarendon imagines, incidentally mingled, as he was a ſoldier, ſome martial hopes or projects, which however were only mentioned, the main deſign being to bring the loyal inhabitants to the knowledge of each other; for which purpoſe there was to be appointed one in every diſtrict, to diſtinguiſh the friends of the king, the adherents to the parliament, and the neutrals. How far they proceeded does not appear; the reſult of their enquiry, as Pym declared *, was, that within the walls for one that was for the Royaliſts, there were three againſt them; but that without the walls for one that was againſt them, there were five for them. Whether this was ſaid from knowledge or gueſs, was perhaps never enquired.

It is the opinion of Clarendon, that in Waller's plan no violence or ſanguinary reſiſtance was compriſed; that he intended only to abate the confidence of the rebels by publick declarations, and to weaken their powers by an oppoſition to new ſupplies. This, in calmer times, and more than this, is done

* Parliamentary Hiſtory, Vol. XII.

without fear; but ſuch was the acrimony of the commons, that no method of obſtructing them was ſafe.

About this time another deſign was formed by Sir Nicholas Criſpe, a man of loyalty that deſerves perpetual remembrance; when he was a merchant in the city, he gave and procured the king, in his exigences, an hundred thouſand pounds; and, when he was driven from the Exchange, raiſed a regiment, and commanded it.

Sir Nicholas flattered himſelf with an opinion, that ſome provocation would ſo much exaſperate, or ſome opportunity ſo much encourage, the King's friends in the city, that they would break out in open reſiſtance, and then would want only a lawful ſtandard, and an authoriſed commander; and extorted from the King, whoſe judgement too frequently yielded to importunity, a commiſſion of array, directed to ſuch as he thought proper to nominate, which was ſent to London by the Lady Aubigney. She knew not what ſhe carried, but was to deliver it on the communication of a certain token which Sir Nicholas imparted.

This

This commiſſion could be only intended to lie ready till the time ſhould require it. To have attempted to raiſe any forces, would have been certain deſtruction; it could be of uſe only when the forces ſhould appear. This was, however, an act preparatory to martial hoſtility. Criſpe would undoubtedly have put an end to the ſeſſion of parliament, had his ſtrength been equal to his zeal; and out of the deſign of Criſpe, which involved very little danger, and that of Waller, which was an act purely civil, they compounded a horrid and dreadful plot.

The diſcovery of Waller's deſign is variouſly related. In Clarendon's Hiſtory it is told, that a ſervant of Tomkyns, lurking behind the hangings when his maſter was in conference with Waller, heard enough to qualify him for an informer, and carried his intelligence to Pym. A manuſcript, quoted in the Life of Waller, relates, that "he was "betrayed by his ſiſter Price, and her preſby-"terian chaplain Mr. Goode, who ſtole ſome "of his papers; and if he had not ſtrangely "dreamed the night before, that his ſiſter

"had

"had betrayed him, and thereupon burnt "the reſt of his papers by the fire that was "in his chimney, he had certainly loſt his "life by it." The queſtion cannot be decided. It is not unreaſonable to believe that the men in power, receiving intelligence from the ſiſter, would employ the ſervant of Tomkyns to liſten at the conference, that they might avoid an act ſo offenſive as that of deſtroying the brother by the ſiſter's teſtimony.

The plot was publiſhed in the moſt terrifick manner. On the 31ſt of May (1643), at a ſolemn faſt, when they were liſtening to the ſermon, a meſſenger entered the church, and communicated his errand to Pym, who whiſpered it to others that were placed near him, and then went with them out of the church, leaving the reſt in ſolicitude and amazement. They immediately ſent guards to proper places, and that night apprehended Tomkyns and Waller; having yet traced nothing but that letters had been intercepted, from which it appeared that the parliament and the city were ſoon to be delivered into the hands of the cavaliers.

They perhaps yet knew little themſelves, beyond ſome general and indiſtinct notices. "But Waller," ſays Clarendon, "was ſo "confounded with fear, that he confeſſed "whatever he had heard, ſaid, thought, or "ſeen; all that he knew of himſelf, and all "that he ſuſpected of others, without con- "cealing any perſon, of what degree or qua- "lity ſoever, or any diſcourſe which he had "ever upon any occaſion entertained with "them; what ſuch and ſuch ladies of great "honour, to whom, upon the credit of his "wit and great reputation, he had been ad- "mitted, had ſpoke to him in their chambers "upon the proceedings in the Houſes, and "how they had encouraged him to oppoſe "them; what correſpondence and intercourſe "they had with ſome Miniſters of State at Ox- "ford, and how they had conveyed all intelli- "gence thither." He accuſed the Earl of Portland and Lord Conway as co-operating in the tranſaction; and teſtified that the Earl of Northumberland had declared himſelf diſpoſed in favour of any attempt that might check the violence of the Parliament, and reconcile them to the King.

He undoubtedly confeſſed much, which they could never have diſcovered, and perhaps ſomewhat which they would wiſh to have been ſuppreſſed; for it is inconvenient, in the conflict of factions, to have that diſaffection known which cannot ſafely be puniſhed.

Tomkyns was ſeized on the ſame night with Waller, and appears likewiſe to have partaken of his cowardice; for he gave notice of Criſpe's commiſſion of array, of which Clarendon never knew how it was diſcovered. Tomkyns had been ſent with the token appointed, to demand it from Lady Aubigney, and had buried it in his garden, where, by his direction, it was dug up; and thus the rebels obtained, what Clarendon confeſſes them to have had, the original copy.

It can raiſe no wonder that they formed one plot out of theſe two deſigns, however remote from each other, when they ſaw the ſame agent employed in both, and found the commiſſion of array in the hands of him who

was

was employed in collecting the opinions and affections of the people.

Of the plot, thus combined, they took care to make the moſt. They ſent Pym among the citizens, to tell them of their imminent danger, and happy eſcape; and inform them, that the deſign was to ſeize the "Lord Mayor and all the Committee of Mi-"litia, and would not ſpare one of them." They drew up a vow and covenant, to be taken by every member of either houſe, by which he declared his deteſtation of all conſpiracies againſt the parliament, and his reſolution to detect and oppoſe them. They then appointed a day of thankſgiving for this wonderful delivery; which ſhut out, ſays Clarendon, all doubts whether there had been ſuch a deliverance, and whether the plot was real or fictitious.

On June 11, the Earl of Portland and Lord Conway were committed, one to the cuſtody of the mayor, and the other of the ſheriff; but their lands and goods were not ſeized.

Waller was ſtill to immerſe himſelf deeper in ignominy. The Earl of Portland and Lord Conway denied the charge, and there was no evidence againſt them but the confeſſion of Waller, of which undoubtedly many would be inclined to queſtion the veracity. With theſe doubts he was ſo much terrified, that he endeavoured to perſuade Portland to a declaration like his own, by a letter extant in Fenton's edition. "But for me," ſays he, "you had never known any thing of this "buſineſs, which was prepared for another; "and therefore I cannot imagine why you "ſhould hide it ſo far as to contract your "own ruin by concealing it, and perſiſting "unreaſonably to hide that truth, which, "without you, already is, and will every day "be made more, manifeſt. Can you imagine "yourſelf bound in honour to keep that ſe-"cret, which is already revealed by another; "or poſſible it ſhould ſtill be a ſecret, which "is known to one of the other ſex?—If you "perſiſt to be cruel to yourſelf for their ſakes "who deſerve it not, it will nevertheleſs be "made appear, ere long, I fear, to your ruin. "Surely, if I had the happineſs to wait on "you,

"you, I could move you to compaſſionate "both yourſelf and me, who, deſperate as "my caſe is, am deſirous to die with the "honour of being known to have declared "the truth. You have no reaſon to contend "to hide what is already revealed—inconſi-"derately to throw away yourſelf, for the "intereſt of others, to whom you are leſs "obliged than you are aware of."

This perſuaſion ſeems to have had little effect. Portland ſent (June 29) a letter to the Lords, to tell them, that he "is in cuſ-"tody, as he conceives, without any charge; "and that, by what Mr. Waller hath threat-"ened him with ſince he was impriſoned, he "doth apprehend a very cruel, long, and "ruinous reſtraint:—He therefore prays, that "he may not find the effects of Mr. Waller's "threats, by a long and cloſe impriſonment; "but may be ſpeedily brought to a legal trial, "and then he is confident the vanity and "falſehood of thoſe informations which have "been given againſt him will appear."

In conſequence of this letter, the Lords ordered Portland and Waller to be confronted;

when the one repeated his charge, and the other his denial. The examination of the plot being continued (July 1), Thinn, uſher of the houſe of Lords, depoſed, that Mr. Waller having had a conference with the Lord Portland in an upper room, Lord Portland ſaid, when he came down, "Do me the "favour to tell my Lord Northumberland, "that Mr. Waller has extremely preſſed me "to ſave my own life and his, by throwing "the blame upon the Lord Conway and the "Earl of Northumberland."

Waller, in his letter to Portland, tells him o the reaſons which he could urge with reſiſtleſs efficacy in a perſonal conference; but he over-rated his own oratory; his vehemence, whether of perſuaſion or intreaty, was returned with contempt.

One of his arguments with Portland is, that the plot is already known to a woman. This woman was doubtleſs Lady Aubigney, who, upon this occaſion, was committed to cuſtody; but who, in reality, when ſhe delivered the commiſſion, knew not what it was.

The

The parliament then proceeded againſt the conſpirators, and committed their trial to a council of war. Tomkyns and Chaloner were hanged near their own doors. Tomkyns, when he came to die, ſaid it was a *fooliſh buſineſs*; and indeed there ſeems to have been no hope that it ſhould eſcape diſcovery; for though never more than three met at a time, yet a deſign ſo extenſive muſt, by neceſſity, be communicated to many, who could not be expected to be all faithful, and all prudent. Chaloner was attended at his execution by Hugh Peters. His crime was that he had commiſſion to raiſe money for the King; but, it appears not that the money was to be expended upon the advancement of either Criſpe or Waller's plot.

The Earl of Northumberland, being too great for proſecution, was only once examined before the Lords. The Earl of Portland and lord Conway perſiſting to deny the charge, and no teſtimony but Waller's yet appearing againſt them, were, after a long impriſonment, admitted to bail. Haſſel, the King's meſſenger, who carried the letters to Oxford, died the night before his trial.

Hampden eſcaped death, perhaps by the intereſt of his family; but was kept in priſon to the end of his life. They whoſe names were inſerted in the commiſſion of array were not capitally puniſhed, as it could not be proved that they had conſented to their own nomination; but they were conſidered as malignants, and their eſtates were ſeized.

"Waller, though confeſſedly," ſays Clarendon, "the moſt guilty, with incredible "diſſimulation affected ſuch a remorſe of con-"ſcience, that his trial was put off, out of "Chriſtian compaſſion, till he might recover "his underſtanding." What uſe he made of this interval, with what liberality and ſucceſs he diſtributed flattery and money, and how, when he was brought (July 4) before the Houſe, he confeſſed and lamented, and ſubmitted and implored, may be read in the Hiſtory of the Rebellion, (B. vii.). The ſpeech, to which Clarendon aſcribes the preſervation of his *dear-bought life*, is inſerted in his works. The great hiſtorian, however, ſeems to have been miſtaken in relating that *he prevailed* in the principal part of his ſupplication, *not to be tried by a Council of War*; for,

for, according to Whitlock, he was by expulſion from the Houſe abandoned to the tribunal which he ſo much dreaded, and, being tried and condemned, was reprieved by Eſſex; but after a year's impriſonment, in which time reſentment grew leſs acrimonious, paying a fine of ten thouſand pounds, he was permitted *to recollect himſelf in another country.*

Of his behaviour in this part of his life, it is not neceſſary to direct the reader's opinion. "Let us not," ſays his laſt ingenious biographer, "condemn him with untem-"pered ſeverity, becauſe he was not a pro-"digy which the world hath ſeldom ſeen, "becauſe his character included not the poet, "the orator, and the hero."

For the place of his exile he choſe France, and ſtaid ſome time at Roan, where his daughter Margaret was born, who was afterwards his favourite, and his amanuenſis. He then removed to Paris, where he lived with great ſplendor and hoſpitality; and from time to time amuſed himſelf with poetry, in which he ſometimes ſpeaks of the rebels, and their uſurpation, in the natural language of an honeſt man.

At

At laſt it became neceſſary, for his ſupport, to ſell his wife's jewels; and being reduced, as he ſaid, at laſt *to the rump-jewel*, he ſolicited from Cromwell permiſſion to return, and obtained it by the intereſt of colonel Scroop, to whom his ſiſter was married. Upon the remains of a fortune, which the danger of his life had very much diminiſhed, he lived at Hall-barn, a houſe built by himſelf, very near to Beaconsfield, where his mother reſided. His mother, though related to Cromwell and Hampden, was zealous for the royal cauſe, and, when Cromwell viſited her, uſed to reproach him; he, in return, would throw a napkin at her, and ſay he would not diſpute with his aunt; but finding in time that ſhe acted for the king, as well as talked, he made her a priſoner to her own daughter, in her own houſe. If he would do any thing, he could not do leſs.

Cromwell, now protector, received Waller, as his kinſman, to familiar converſation. Waller, as he uſed to relate, found him ſufficiently verſed in ancient hiſtory; and when any of his enthuſiaſtick friends came to adviſe

or

or conſult him, could ſometimes overhear him diſcourſing in the cant of the times: but, when he returned, he would ſay, "Couſin "Waller, I muſt talk to theſe men in their "own way:" and reſumed the common ſtyle of converſation.

He repaid the Protector for his favours (1654) by the famous panegyrick, which has been always conſidered as the firſt of his poetical productions. His choice of encomiaſtick topicks is very judicious; for he conſiders Cromwell in his exaltation, without enquiring how he attained it; there is conſequently no mention of the rebel or the regicide. All the former part of his hero's life is veiled with ſhades; and nothing is brought to view but the chief, the governor, the defender of England's honour, and the enlarger of her dominion. The act of violence by which he obtained the ſupreme power is lightly treated, and decently juſtified. It was certainly to be deſired that the deteſtable band ſhould be diſſolved, which had deſtroyed the church, murdered the King, and filled the nation with tumult and oppreſſion; yet Cromwell had not the right of diſſolving them, for all

all that he had before done could be juſtified only by ſuppoſing them inveſted with lawful authority. But combinations of wickedneſs would overwhelm the world by the advantage which licentious principles afford, did not thoſe who have long practiſed perfidy, grow faithleſs to each other.

In the poem on the war with Spain are ſome paſſages at leaſt equal to the beſt parts of the panegyrick; and in the concluſion, the poet ventures yet a higher flight of flattery, by recommending royalty to Cromwell and the nation. Cromwell was very deſirous, as appears from his converſation, related by Whitlock, of adding the title to the power of monarchy, and is ſuppoſed to have been with-held from it partly by fear of the army, and partly by fear of the laws, which, when he ſhould govern by the name of King, would have reſtrained his authority. When therefore a deputation was ſolemnly ſent to invite him to the Crown, he, after a long conference, refuſed it; but is ſaid to have fainted in his coach, when he parted from them.

The poem on the death of the Protector ſeems to have been dictated by real veneration for

for his memory. Dryden and Sprat wrote on the ſame occaſion; but they were young men, ſtruggling into notice, and hoping for ſome favour from the ruling party. Waller had little to expect: he had received nothing but his pardon from Cromwell, and was not likely to aſk any thing from thoſe who ſhould ſucceed him.

Soon afterwards the Reſtauration ſupplied him with another ſubject; and he exerted his imagination, his elegance, and his melody, with equal alacrity, for Charles the Second. It is not poſſible to read, without ſome contempt and indignation, poems of the ſame author, aſcribing the higheſt degree of *power and piety* to Charles the Firſt, then transferring the ſame *power and piety* to Oliver Cromwell; now inviting Oliver to take the Crown, and then congratulating Charles the Second on his recovered right. Neither Cromwell nor Charles could value his teſtimony as the effect of conviction, or receive his praiſes as effuſions of reverence; they could conſider them but as the labour of invention, and the tribute of dependence.

Poets,

Poets, indeed, profeſs fiction; but the legitimate end of fiction is the conveyance of truth; and he that has flattery ready for all whom the viciſſitudes of the world happen to exalt, muſt be ſcorned as a proſtituted mind, that may retain the glitter of wit, but has loſt the dignity of virtue.

The Congratulation was conſidered as inferior in poetical merit to the Panegyrick; and it is reported, that when the king told Waller of the diſparity, he anſwered, "Poets, "Sir, ſucceed better in fiction than in truth."

The Congratulation is indeed not inferior to the Panegyrick, either by decay of genius, or for want of diligence; but becauſe Cromwell had done much, and Charles had done little. Cromwell wanted nothing to raiſe him to heroick excellence but virtue; and virtue his poet thought himſelf at liberty to ſupply. Charles had yet only the merit of ſtruggling without ſucceſs, and ſuffering without deſpair. A life of eſcapes and indigence could ſupply poetry with no ſplendid images.

In

In the firſt parliament ſummoned by Charles the Second (March 8, 1661), Waller ſat for Haſtings in Suſſex, and ſerved for different places in all the parliaments of that reign. In a time when fancy and gaiety were the moſt powerful recommendations to regard, it is not likely that Waller was forgotten. He paſſed his time in the company that was higheſt, both in rank and wit, from which even his obſtinate ſobriety did not exclude him. Though he drank water, he was enabled by his fertility of mind to heighten the mirth of Bacchanalian aſſemblies; and Mr. Saville ſaid, that "no man in England "ſhould keep him company without drink-"ing but Ned Waller."

The praiſe given him by St. Evremond is a proof of his reputation; for it was only by his reputation that he could be known, as a writer, to a man who, though he lived a great part of a long life upon an Engliſh penſion, never condeſcended to underſtand the language of the nation that maintained him.

In

In parliament, "he was," ſays Burnet, "the delight of the houſe, and though old "ſaid the livelieſt things of any among "them." This, however, is ſaid in his account of the year ſeventy-five, when Waller was only ſeventy. His name as a ſpeaker occurs often in Grey's Collections; but I have found no extracts that can be more quoted as exhibiting ſallies of gaiety than cogency of argument.

He was of ſuch conſideration, that his remarks were circulated and recorded. When the duke of York's influence was high, both in Scotland and England, it drew, ſays Burnet, a lively reflection from Waller the celebrated wit. "He ſaid, the houſe of com-"mons had reſolved that the duke ſhould "not reign after the king's death; but the "king, in oppoſition to them, had reſolved "that he ſhould reign even in his life." If there appear no extraordinary *liveline ſs* in this *remark*, yet its reception proves the ſpeaker to have been a *celebrated wit*, to have had a name

a name which the men of wit were proud of mentioning.

He did not ſuffer his reputation to die gradually away, which may eaſily happen in a long life, but renewed his claim to poetical diſtinction from time to time, as occaſions were offered, either by publick events or private incidents; and, contenting himſelf with the influence of his muſe, or loving quiet better than influence, he never accepted any office of magiſtracy.

He was not, however, without ſome attention to his fortune; for he aſked from the King (in 1665) the provoſtſhip of Eaton College, and obtained it; but Clarendon refuſed to put the ſeal to the grant, alleging that it could be held only by a clergyman. It is known that Sir Henry Wotton qualified himſelf for it by Deacon's orders.

To this oppoſition, the *Biographia* imputes the violence and acrimony with which Waller joined Buckingham's faction in the proſecution of Clarendon. The motive was illiberal and diſhoneſt, and ſhewed that more

than ſixty years had not been able to teach him morality. His accuſation is ſuch as conſcience can hardly be ſuppoſed to dictate without the help of malice. "We were to "be governed by janizaries inſtead of par-"liaments, and are in danger from a worſe "plot than that of the fifth of November; "then, if the Lords and commons had been "deſtroyed, there had been a ſucceſſion; but "here both had been deſtroyed for ever." This is the language of a man who is glad of an opportunity to rail, and ready to ſacrifice truth to intereſt at one time, and to anger at another.

A year after the Chancellor's baniſhment, another vacancy gave him encouragement for another petition, which the King referred to the council, who, after hearing the queſtion argued by lawyers for three days, determined that the office could be held only by a clergyman, according to the act of uniformity, ſince the provoſts had always received inſtitution, as for a parſonage, from the biſhops of Lincoln. The King then ſaid, he could not break the law which he had made; and Dr. Zachary Cradock, famous for a ſingle

ſermon, at moſt for two ſermons, was choſen by the Fellows.

That he aſked any thing elſe is not known; it is certain that he obtained nothing, though he continued obſequious to the court through the reſt of Charles's reign.

At the acceſſion of King James (in 1685) he was choſen for parliament, being then fourſcore, at Saltaſh in Cornwall; and wrote a *Preſage of the Downfall of the Turkiſh Empire*, which he preſented to the King on his birthday. It is remarked, by his commentator Fenton, that in reading Taſſo he had early imbibed a veneration for the heroes of the Holy War, and a zealous enmity to the Turks, which never left him. James, however, having ſoon after begun what he thought a holy war at home, made haſte to put all moleſtation of the Turks out of his power.

James treated him with kindneſs and familiarity, of which inſtances are given by the writer of his Life. One day, taking him into the cloſet, the King aſked him how he liked one of the pictures: "My eyes," ſaid

Waller, "are dim, and I do not know it." The king ſaid, it was the princeſs of Orange. "She is," ſaid Waller, "like the greateſt "woman in the world." The King aſked who was that? and was anſwered, Queen Elizabeth. "I wonder," ſaid the King, "you "ſhould think ſo; but I muſt confeſs ſhe "had a wiſe council." "And, Sir," ſaid Waller, "did you ever know a fool chuſe a "wiſe one?" Such is the ſtory, which I once heard of ſome other man. Pointed axioms, and acute replies, fly looſe about the world, and are aſſigned ſucceſſively to thoſe whom it may be the faſhion to celebrate.

When the King knew that he was about to marry his daughter to Dr. Birch, a clergyman, he ordered a French gentleman to tell him, that "the King wondered he could "think of marrying his daughter to a fall-"ing church." "The King," ſays Waller, "does me great honour, in taking notice of "my domeſtick affairs; but I have lived long "enough to obſerve that this falling church "has got a trick of riſing again."

He

He took notice to his friends of the King's conduct; and ſaid, that "he would be left "like a whale upon the ſtrand." Whether he was privy to any of the tranſactions which ended in the Revolution, is not known. His heir joined the prince of Orange.

Having now attained an age beyond which the laws of nature ſeldom ſuffer life to be extended, otherwiſe than by a future ſtate, he ſeems to have turned his mind upon preparation for the deciſive hour, and therefore conſecrated his poetry to devotion. It is pleaſing to diſcover that his piety was without weakneſs; that his intellectual powers continued vigorous; and that the lines which he compoſed when *he, for age, could neither read nor write*, are not inferior to the effuſions of his youth.

Towards the decline of life, he bought a ſmall houſe, with a little land, at Colſhill; and ſaid, "he ſhould be glad to die, like the "ſtag, where he was rouſed." This, however, did not happen. When he was at Beaconsfield, he found his legs grow tumid:

he went to Windſor, where Sir Charles Scarborough then attended the King, and requeſted him, as both a friend and phyſician, to tell him, *what that ſwelling meant.* "Sir," anſwered Scarborough, "your blood will run "no longer." Waller repeated ſome lines of Virgil, and went home to die.

As the diſeaſe increaſed upon him, he compoſed himſelf for his departure; and calling upon Dr. Birch to give him the holy ſacrament, he deſired his children to take it with him, and made an earneſt declaration of his faith in Chriſtianity. It now appeared, what part of his converſation with the great could be remembered with delight. He related, that being preſent when the duke of Buckingham talked profanely before King Charles, he ſaid to him, "My Lord, I am "a great deal older than your grace, and "have, I believe, heard more arguments for "atheiſm than ever your grace did; but I "have lived long enough to ſee there is "nothing in them; and ſo, I hope, your "grace will."

He

He died October 21, 1687, and was buried at Beaconsfield, with a monument erected by his ſon's executors, for which Rymer wrote the inſcription, and which I hope is now reſcued from dilapidation.

He left ſeveral children by his ſecond wife; of whom, his daughter was married to Dr. Birch. Benjamin, the eldeſt ſon, was diſinherited, and ſent to New Jerſey, as wanting common underſtanding. Edmund, the ſecond ſon, inherited the eſtate, and repreſented Agmondeſham in parliament, but at laſt turned Quaker. William, the third ſon, was a merchant in London. Stephen, the fourth, was an eminent Doctor of Laws, and one of the Commiſſioners for the Union. There is ſaid to have been a fifth, of whom no account has deſcended.

The character of Waller, both moral and intellectual, has been drawn by Clarendon, to whom he was familiarly known, with nicety, which certainly none to whom he was not known can preſume to emulate. It is therefore inſerted here, with ſuch remarks

as others have ſupplied; after which, nothing remains but a critical examination of his poetry.

"Edmund Waller," ſays Clarendon, "was "born to a very fair eſtate, by the parſimony, "or frugality, of a wiſe father and mother: "and he thought it ſo commendable an ad- "vantage, that he reſolved to improve it with "his utmoſt care, upon which in his nature "he was too much intent; and, in order to "that, he was ſo much reſerved and retired, "that he was ſcarce ever heard of, till by his "addreſs and dexterity he had gotten a very "rich wife in the city, againſt all the re- "commendation and countenance and autho- "rity of the Court, which was thoroughly "engaged on the behalf of Mr. Croſts; and "which uſed to be ſucceſsful in that age, "againſt any oppoſition. He had the good "fortune to have an alliance and friendſhip "with Dr. Morley, who had aſſiſted and in- "ſtructed him in the reading many good "books, to which his natural parts and "promptitude inclined him, eſpecially the "poets; and at the age when other men "uſed to give over writing verſes (for he was

"near

"near thirty years when he firſt engaged "himſelf in that exerciſe; at leaſt, that he "was known to do ſo), he ſurpriſed the "town with two or three pieces of that "kind; as if a tenth Muſe had been newly "born, to cheriſh drooping poetry. The "Doctor at that time brought him into that "company, which was moſt celebrated for "good converſation; where he was received "and eſteemed, with great applauſe and re-"ſpect. He was a very pleaſant diſcourſer, "in earneſt and in jeſt, and therefore very "grateful to all kind of company, where he "was not the leſs eſteemed for being very "rich.

"He had been even nurſed in parliaments, "where he ſat when he was very young; "and ſo, when they were reſumed again "(after a long intermiſſion), he appeared in "thoſe aſſemblies with great advantage; "having a graceful way of ſpeaking, and by "thinking much on ſeveral arguments (which "his temper and complexion, that had much "of melancholic, inclined him to), he ſeemed "often to ſpeak upon the ſudden, when the "occaſion had only adminiſtred the opportu-

"nity

" nity of saying what he had thoroughly con-
" sidered, which gave a great lustre to all he
" said; which yet was rather of delight than
" weight. There needs no more be said to
" extol the excellence and power of his wit,
" and pleasantness of his conversation, than
" that it was of magnitude enough to cover
" a world of very great faults; that is, so to
" cover them, that they were not taken no-
" tice of to his reproach; viz. a narrowness
" in his nature to the lowest degree; an ab-
" jectness and want of courage to support him
" in any virtuous undertaking; an insinua-
" tion and servile flattery to the height, the
" vainest and most imperious nature could be
" contented with; that it preserved and won
" his life from those who were most resolved
" to take it, and in an occasion in which he
" ought to have been ambitious to have lost
" it; and then preserved him again, from
" the reproach and contempt that was due
" to him, for so preserving it, and for vindi-
" cating it at such a price; that it had power
" to reconcile him to those, whom he had
" most offended and provoked; and conti-
" nued to his age with that rare felicity, that
" his company was acceptable, where his
" spirit

"ſpirit was odious; and he was at leaſt pi-
"tied, where he was moſt deteſted."

Such is the account of Clarendon; on which it may not be impropper to make ſome remarks.

"He was very little known till he had
"obtained a rich wife in the city."

He obtained a rich wife about the age of three-and-twenty; an age before which few men are conſpicuous much to their advantage. He was known, however, in parliament and at court: and, if he ſpent part of his time in privacy, it is not unreaſonable to ſuppoſe that he endeavoured the improvement of his mind as well as of his fortune.

That Clarendon might misjudge the motive of his retirement is the more probable, becauſe he has evidently miſtaken the commencement of his poetry, which he ſuppoſes him not to have attempted before thirty. As his firſt pieces were perhaps not printed, the ſucceſſion of his compoſitions was not known; and Clarendon, who cannot be imagined to have been very ſtudious of poetry, did not rectify

rectify his firſt opinion by conſulting Waller's book.

Clarendon obſerves, that he was introduced to the wits of the age by Dr. Morley; but the writer of his Life relates that he was already among them, when, hearing a noiſe in the ſtreet, and enquiring the cauſe, they found a ſon of Ben Jonſon under an arreſt. This was Morley, whom Waller ſet free at the expence of one hundred pounds, took him into the country as director of his ſtudies, and then procured him admiſſion into the company of the friends of literature. Of this fact, Clarendon had a nearer knowledge than the biographer, and is therefore more to be credited.

The account of Waller's parliamentary eloquence is ſeconded by Burnet, who, though he calls him "the delight of the houſe," adds, that "he was only concerned to ſay "that, which ſhould make him be ap-"plauded, he never laid the buſineſs of the "Houſe to heart, being a vain and empty "though a witty man."

Of his inſinuation and flattery it is not unreaſonable to believe that the truth is told. Aſcham, in his elegant deſcription of thoſe whom in modern language we term Wits, ſays, that they are *open flatterers, and privy mockers*. Waller ſhewed a little of both, when, upon ſight of the Dutcheſs of Newcaſtle's verſes on the death of a Stag, he declared that he would give all his own compoſitions to have written them; and, being charged with the exorbitance of his adulation, anſwered, that "nothing was too much "to be given, that a Lady might be ſaved "from the diſgrace of ſuch a vile perfor-"mance." This, however, was no very miſchievous or very unuſual deviation from truth: had his hypocriſy been confined to ſuch tranſactions, he might have been forgiven, though not praiſed; for who forbears to flatter an author or a lady?

Of the laxity of his political principles, and the weakneſs of his reſolution, he experienced the natural effect, by loſing the eſteem of every party. From Cromwell he had only his recall; and from Charles the Second,

Second, who delighted in his company, he obtained only the pardon of his relation Hampden, and the ſafety of Hampden's ſon.

As far as conjecture can be made from the whole of his writing, and his conduct, he was habitually and deliberately a friend to monarchy. His deviation towards democracy proceeded from his connection with Hampden, for whoſe ſake he proſecuted Crawley with great bitterneſs: and the invective which he pronounced on that occaſion was ſo popular, that twenty thouſand copies are ſaid by his biographer to have been ſold in one day.

It is confeſſed that his faults ſtill left him many friends, at leaſt many companions. His convivial power of pleaſing is univerſally acknowledged; but thoſe who converſed with him intimately, found him not only paſſionate, eſpecially in his old age, but reſentful; ſo that the interpoſition of friends was ſometimes neceſſary.

His wit and his poetry naturally connected him with the polite writers of his time: he was joined with Lord Buckhurſt in the tranſ-

lation of Corneille's Pompey; and is ſaid to have added his help to that of Cowley in the original draught of the Rehearſal.

The care of his fortune, which Clarendon imputes to him in a degree little leſs than criminal, was either not conſtant or not ſucceſsful; for, having inherited a patrimony of three thouſand five hundred a year in the time of James the Firſt, and augmented it at leaſt by one wealthy marriage, he left, about the time of the Revolution, an income of not more than twelve or thirteen hundred; which, when the different value of money is reckoned, will be found perhaps not more than a fourth part of what he once poſſeſſed.

Of this diminution, part was the conſequence of the gifts which he was forced to ſcatter, and the fine which he was condemned to pay at the detection of his plot; and if his eſtate, as is related in his Life, was ſequeſtered, he had probably contracted debts when he lived in exile; for we are told that at Paris he lived in ſplendor, and was the only Engliſhman, except the Lord St. Albans, that kept a table.

His

His unlucky plot compelled him to ſell a thouſand a year; of the waſte of the reſt there is no account, except that he is confeſſed by his biographer to have been a bad œconomiſt. He ſeems to have deviated from the common practice; to have been a hoarder in his firſt years, and a ſquanderer in his laſt.

Of his courſe of ſtudies, or choice of books, nothing is known more than that he profeſſed himſelf unable to read Chapman's tranſlation of Homer without rapture. His opinion concerning the duty of a poet is contained in his declaration, that "he would "blot from his works any line that did not "contain ſome motive to virtue."

THE

THE characters, by which Waller intended to diſtinguiſh his writings, are ſpritelineſs and dignity; in his ſmaller pieces, he endeavours to be gay; in the larger, to be great. Of his airy and light productions, the chief ſource is gallantry, that attentive reverence of female excellence, which has deſcended to us from the Gothic ages. As his poems are commonly occaſional, and his addreſſes perſonal, he was not ſo liberally ſupplied with grand as with ſoft images; for beauty is more eaſily found than magnanimity.

The delicacy, which he cultivated, reſtrains him to a certain nicety and caution, even when he writes upon the ſlighteſt matter. He has therefore in his whole volume nothing burleſque, and ſeldom any thing ludicrous or familiar. He ſeems always to do his beſt; though his ſubjects are often unworthy of his care. It is not eaſy to think without ſome contempt on an author, who is growing illuſtrious in his own opinion by verſes, at one time, "To a Lady, who can

" do any thing, but ſleep, when ſhe pleaſes." At another, " To a Lady, who can ſleep, " when ſhe pleaſes." Now, " To a Lady, " on her paſſing through a crowd of people." Then, " On a braid of divers colours woven " by four fair Ladies :" " On a tree cut in " paper :" or, " To a Lady, from whom " he received the copy of verſes on the " paper-tree, which for many years had been " miſſing."

Genius now and then produces a lucky trifle. We ſtill read the *Dove* of Anacreon, and *Sparrow* of Catullus ; and a writer naturally pleaſes himſelf with a performance, which owes nothing to the ſubject. But compoſitions merely pretty have the fate of other pretty things, and are quitted in time for ſomething uſeful : they are flowers fragrant and fair, but of ſhort duration ; or they are bloſſoms to be valued only as they foretell fruits.

Among Waller's little poems are ſome, which their excellency ought to ſecure from oblivion ; as, *To Amoret*, comparing the different modes of regard with which he looks

looks on her and *Sachariſſa*; and the verſes *On Love*, that begin, *Anger in haſty words or blows.*

In others he is not equally ſucceſsful; ſometimes his thoughts are deficient, and ſometimes his expreſſion.

The numbers are not always muſical; as,

Fair Venus, in thy ſoft arms
The god of rage confine;
For thy whiſpers are the charms
Which only can divert his fierce deſign.
What though he frown, and to tumult do incline;
Thou the flame
Kindled in his breaſt canſt tame,
With that ſnow which unmelted lies on thine.

He ſeldom indeed fetches an amorous ſentiment from the depths of ſcience; his thoughts are for the moſt part eaſily underſtood, and his images ſuch as the ſuperficies of nature readily ſupplies; he has a juſt claim to popularity, becauſe he writes to common degrees of knowledge, and is free at leaſt from philoſophical pedantry, unleſs perhaps

the end of a ſong *to the Sun* may be excepted, in which he is too much a Copernican. To which may be added, the ſimile of the *Palm* in the verſes *on her paſſing through a crowd*; and a line in a more ſerious poem on the *Reſtoration*, about vipers and treacle, which can only be underſtood by thoſe who happen to know the compoſition of the *Theriaca*.

His thoughts are ſometimes hyperbolical, and his images unnatural:

——The plants admire,
No leſs than thoſe of old did Orpheus' lyre;
If ſhe ſit down, with tops all tow'rds her bow'd;
They round about her into arbours crowd:
Or if ſhe walks, in even ranks they ſtand,
Like ſome well-marſhal'd and obſequious band.

In other place:

While in the park I ſing, the liſtening deer
Attend my paſſion, and forget to fear:
When to the beeches I report my flame,
They bow their heads, as if they felt the ſame:
To gods appealing, when I reach their bowers,
With loud complaints they anſwer me in ſhowers.
To thee a wild and cruel ſoul is given,
More deaf than trees, and prouder than the heaven!

On

On the head of a Stag:

O fertile head! which every year
Could ſuch a crop of wonder bear!
The teeming earth did never bring
So ſoon, ſo hard, ſo huge a thing:
Which might it never have been caſt,
Each year's growth added to the laſt,
Theſe lofty branches had ſupply'd
The Earth's bold ſon's prodigious pride:
Heaven with theſe engines had been ſcal'd,
When mountains heap'd on mountains fail'd.

Sometimes, having ſucceeded in the firſt part, he makes a feeble concluſion. In the ſong of "Sachariſſa's and Amoret's Friend-"ſhip," the two laſt ſtanzas ought to have been omitted.

His images of gallantry are not always in the higheſt degree delicate.

Then ſhall my love this doubt diſplace,
And gain ſuch truſt, that I may come
And banquet ſometimes on thy face,
But make my conſtant meals at home

Some applications may be thought too remote and unconſequential: as in the verſes on the *Lady dancing*:

The ſun in figures ſuch as theſe,
Joys with the moon to play:
To the ſweet ſtrains they advance,
Which do reſult from their own ſpheres;
As this nymph's dance
Moves with the numbers which ſhe hears.

Sometimes a thought, which might perhaps fill a diſtich, is expanded and attenuated till it grows weak and almoſt evaneſcent.

Chloris! ſince firſt our calm of peace
Was frighted hence, this good we find,
Your favours with your fears increaſe,
And growing miſchiefs make you kind.
So the fair tree, which ſtill preſerves
Her fruit, and ſtate, while no wind blows,
In ſtorms from that uprightneſs ſwerves;
And the glad earth about her ſtrows
With treaſure from her yielding boughs.

His images are not always diſtinct; as, in the following paſſage, he confounds *Love* as a perſon with *love* as a paſſion;

Some

Some other nymphs, with colours faint,
And pencil ſlow, may Cupid paint,
And a weak heart in time deſtroy;
She has a ſtamp, and prints the Boy:
Can, with a ſingle look, inflame
The coldeſt breaſt, the rudeſt tame.

His ſallies of caſual flattery are ſometimes elegant and happy, as that *in return for the Silver Pen*; and ſometimes empty and trifling, as that *upon the Card torn by the Queen.* There are a few lines *written in the Dutcheſs's Taſſo*, which he is ſaid by Fenton to have kept a ſummer under correction. It happened to Waller, as to others, that his ſucceſs was not always in proportion to his labour.

Of theſe petty compoſitions, neither the beauties nor the faults deſerve much attention. The amorous verſes have this to recommend them, that they are leſs hyperbolical than thoſe of ſome other poets. Waller is not always at the laſt gaſp; he does not die of a frown, nor live upon a ſmile. There is however too much love, and too many trifles. Little things are made too important; and the Empire of Beauty is repreſented as exert-

ing its influence further than can be allowed by the multiplicity of human paſſions, and the variety of human wants. Such books therefore may be conſidered as ſhewing the world under a falſe appearance, and, ſo far as they obtain credit from the young and unexperienced, as miſleading expectation, and miſguiding practice.

Of his nobler and more weighty performances, the greater part is panegyrical; for of praiſe he was very laviſh, as is obſerved by his imitator, Lord Lanſdown;

> No ſatyr ſtalks within the hallow'd ground,
> But queens and heroines, kings and gods abound;
> Glory and arms and love are all the ſound.

In the firſt poem, on the danger of the Prince on the coaſt of Spain, there is a puerile and ridiculous mention of Arion at the beginning; and the laſt paragraph, on the *Cable*, is in part ridiculouſly mean, and in part ridiculouſly tumid. The poem, however, is ſuch as may be juſtly praiſed, without much allowance for the ſtate of our poetry and language at that time.

The

The two next poems are upon the King's *behaviour at the death of* Buckingham, and upon his *Navy*.

He has, in the firſt, uſed the pagan deities with great propriety:

'Twas want of ſuch a precedent as this
Made the old heathen frame their gods amiſs.

In the poem on the Navy, thoſe lines are very noble, which ſuppoſe the King's power ſecure againſt a ſecond Deluge; ſo noble, that it were almoſt criminal to remark the miſtake of *centre* for *ſurface*, or to ſay that the empire of the ſea would be worth little if it were not that the waters terminate in land.

The poem upon Sallee has forcible ſentiments; but the concluſion is feeble. That on the Repairs of St. Paul's has ſomething vulgar and obvious; ſuch as the mention of Amphion; and ſomething violent and harſh, as

So

So all our minds with his conſpire to grace
The Gentiles' great apoſtle, and deface
Thoſe ſtate-obſcuring ſheds, that like a chain
Seem'd to confine, and fetter him again:
Which the glad ſaint ſhakes off at his command,
As once the viper from his ſacred hand.
So joys the aged oak, when we divide
The creeping ivy from his injur'd ſide.

Of the two laſt couplets, the firſt is extravagant, and the ſecond mean.

His praiſe of the Queen is too much exaggerated; and the thought, that ſhe "ſaves "lovers, by cutting off hope, as gangrenes "are cured by lopping the limb," preſents nothing to the mind but diſguſt and horror.

Of the *Battle of the Summer Iſlands*, it ſeems not eaſy to ſay whether it is intended to raiſe terror or merriment. The beginning is too ſplendid for jeſt, and the concluſion too light for ſerioufneſs. The verſification is ſtudied, the ſcenes are diligently diſplayed, and the images artfully amplified; but as it ends neither in joy nor ſorrow, it will ſcarcely be read a ſecond time.

The

To all we kindly with his conquest grant
The fruit of glory, spoils, and peace.
Those flatt'ring fleeting fleets, that like a chain
Seem'd to confine, and fetter him again:
Which the glad main now shakes off at his command,
At once the oar from his forced hand.
So joys the aged oak, when tempests divide
The creeping ivy from his injur'd side.

Of the two laſt couplets, the firſt is extravagant, and the ſecond mean.

"His pride of the Queen is too much exaggerated; and the thought, that the "ſcorn "lovers, by quitting all hope, as gangrenes "are cured by lopping the limb," is nothing to be mind but diſguſt and horror.

Of the *Battle of the Summer Iſlands* it ſeems not eaſy to ſay whether it is intended to raiſe terror or merriment. The beginning is too ſplendid for jeſt, and the concluſion too light for ſeriouſneſs. The verſification is ſtudied, the ſcenes are diligently diſplayed, and the images artfully amplified; but as it ends neither in joy nor ſorrow it will ſcarcely be read a ſecond time.

The

The *Panegyrick* upon Cromwell has obtained from the publick a very liberal dividend of praiſe, which however cannot be ſaid to have been unjuſtly laviſhed; for ſuch a ſeries of verſes had rarely appeared before in the Engliſh language. Of the lines ſome are grand, ſome are graceful, and all are muſical. There is now and then a feeble verſe, or a trifling thought; but its great fault is the choice of its hero.

The poem of *The War with Spain* begins with lines more vigorous and ſtriking than Waller is accuſtomed to produce. The ſucceeding parts are variegated with better paſſages and worſe. There is ſomething too farfetched in the compariſon of the Spaniards drawing the Engliſh on, by ſaluting St. Lucar with cannon, *to lambs awakening the lion by bleating*. The fate of the Marquis and his Lady, who were burnt in their ſhip, would have moved more, had the poet not made him die like the Phœnix, becauſe he had ſpices about him, nor expreſſed their affection and their end by a conceit at once falſe and vulgar:

Alive,

Alive, in equal flames of love they burn'd,
And now together are to aſhes turn'd.

The verſes to Charles, on his Return, were doubtleſs intended to counterbalance the panegyric on Cromwell. If it has been thought inferior to that with which it is naturally compared, the cauſe of its deficience has been already remarked.

The remaining pieces it is not neceſſary to examine ſingly. They muſt be ſuppoſed to have faults and beauties of the ſame kind with the reſt. The Sacred Poems, however, deſerve particular regard; they were the work of Waller's declining life, of thoſe hours in which he looked upon the fame and the folly of the time paſt with the ſentiments which his great predeceſſor Petrarch bequeathed to poſterity, upon his review of that love and poetry which have given him immortality.

That natural jealouſy which makes every man unwilling to allow much excellence in another, always produces a diſpoſition to believe that

Alive, in equal flames of love thus burn'd,
And now together are to ashes turn'd.

The verses to Charles, on his Return, were doubtless intended to counterbalance the panegyric on Cromwell. It has been thought a mirror to the wits—which, as naturally compared, the coolness of his disposition has been already remarked.

that the mind grows old with the body; and that he, whom we are now forced to confeſs ſuperior, is haſtening daily to a level with ourſelves. By delighting to think this of the living, we learn to think it of the dead; and Fenton, with all his kindneſs for Waller, has the luck to mark the exact time when his genius paſſed the zenith, which he places at his fifty-fifth year. This is to allot the mind but a ſmall portion. Intellectual decay is doubtleſs not uncommon; but it ſeems not to be univerſal. Newton was in his eighty-fifth year improving his Chronology, a few days before his death; and Waller appears not, in my opinion, to have loſt at eighty-two any part of his poetical power.

His Sacred Poems do not pleaſe like ſome of his other works; but before the fatal fifty-five, had he written on the ſame ſubjects, his ſucceſs would hardly have been better.

It has been the frequent lamentation of good men, that verſe has been too little applied to the purpoſes of worſhip, and many attempts have been made to animate devotion by pious poetry; that they have very ſeldom attained

attained their end is ſufficiently known, and it may not be improper to enquire why they have miſcarried.

Let no pious ear be offended if I advance, in oppoſition to many authorities, that poetical devotion cannot often pleaſe. The doctrines of religion may indeed be defended in a didactick poem; and he who has the happy power of arguing in verſe, will not loſe it becauſe his ſubject is ſacred. A poet may deſcribe the beauty and the grandeur of Nature, the flowers of the ſpring, and the harveſts of Autumn, the viciſſitudes of the Tide, and the revolutions of the Sky, and praiſe the Maker for his works in lines which no reader ſhall lay aſide. The ſubject of the diſputation is not piety, but the motives to piety; that of the deſcription is not God, but the works of God.

Contemplative piety, or the intercourſe between God and the human ſoul, cannot be poetical. Man admitted to implore the mercy of his Creator, and plead the merits of his Redeemer, is already in a higher ſtate than poetry can confer.

The

The eſſence of poetry is invention; ſuch invention as, by producing ſomething unexpected, ſurpriſes and delights. The topicks of devotion are few, and being few are univerſally known; but, few as they are, they can be made no more; they can receive no grace from novelty of ſentiment, and very little from novelty of expreſſion.

Poetry pleaſes by exhibiting an idea more grateful to the mind than things themſelves afford. This effect proceeds from the diſplay of thoſe parts of nature which attract, and the concealment of thoſe which repel the imagination: but religion muſt be ſhewn as it is; ſuppreſſion and addition equally corrupt it; and ſuch as it is, it is known already.

From poetry the reader juſtly expects, and from good poetry always obtains, the enlargement of his comprehenſion and elevation of his fancy; but this is rarely to be hoped by Chriſtians from metrical devotion. Whatever is great, deſireable, or tremendous, is compriſed in the name of the Supreme Being. Omnipotence cannot be exalted; Infinity

cannot be amplified; Perfection cannot be improved.

The employments of pious meditation are Faith, Thankſgiving, Repentance, and Supplication. Faith, invariably uniform, cannot be inveſted by fancy with decorations. Thankſgiving, the moſt joyful of all holy effuſions, yet addreſſed to a Being without paſſions, is confined to a few modes, and is to be felt rather than expreſſed. Repentance trembling in the preſence of the judge, is not at leiſure for cadences and epithets. Supplication of man to man may diffuſe itſelf through many topicks of perſuaſion; but ſupplication to God can only cry for mercy.

Of ſentiments purely religious, it will be found that the moſt ſimple expreſſion is the moſt ſublime. Poetry loſes its luſtre and its power, becauſe it is applied to the decoration of ſomething more excellent than itſelf. All that pious verſe can do is to help the memory, and delight the ear, and for theſe purpoſes it may be very uſeful; but it ſupplies nothing to the mind. The ideas of Chriſtian

Theology are too ſimple for eloquence, too ſacred for fiction, and too majeſtick for ornament; to recommend them by tropes and figures, is to magnify by a concave mirror the ſidereal hemiſphere.

As much of Waller's reputation was owing to the ſoftneſs and ſmoothneſs of his Numbers; it is proper to conſider thoſe minute particulars to which a verſifyer muſt attend.

He certainly very much excelled in ſmoothneſs moſt of the writers who were living when his poetry commenced. The Poets of Elizabeth had attained an art of modulation, which was afterwards neglected or forgotten. Fairfax was acknowledged by him as his model; and he might have ſtudied with advantage the poem of Davis, which, though merely philoſophical, yet ſeldom leaves the ear ungratified.

But he was rather ſmooth than ſtrong; of *the full reſounding line*, which Pope attributes to Dryden, he has given very few examples. The critical deciſion has given the praiſe of

ſtrength to Denham, and of ſweetneſs to Waller.

His excellence of verſification has ſome abatements. He uſes the expletive *do* very frequently; and though he uſed to ſee it almoſt univerſally ejected, was not more careful to avoid it in his laſt compoſitions than in his firſt. Praiſe had given him confidence; and finding the world ſatisfied, he ſatisfied himſelf.

His rhymes are ſometimes weak words: *ſo* is found to make the rhyme twice in ten lines, and occurs often as a rhyme through his book.

His double rhymes, in heroick verſe, have been cenſured by Mrs. Phillips, who was his rival in the tranſlation of Corneille's Pompey; and more faults might be found, were not the enquiry below attention.

He ſometimes uſes the obſolete termination of verbs, as *waxeth*, *affecteth*; and ſometimes retains the final ſyllable of the preterite, as *amazed*, *ſuppoſed*; of which I know not whether

whether it is not to the detriment of our language that we have totally rejected them.

Of triplets he is ſparing; but he did not wholly forbear them: of an Alexandrine he has given no example.

The general character of his poetry is elegance and gaiety. He is never pathetick, and very rarely ſublime. He ſeems neither to have had a mind much elevated by nature, nor amplified by learning. His thoughts are ſuch as a liberal converſation and large acquaintance with life would eaſily ſupply. They had however then, perhaps, that grace of novelty, which they are now often ſuppoſed to want by thoſe who, having already found them in later books, do not know or enquire who produced them firſt. This treatment is unjuſt. Let not the original author loſe by his imitators.

Praiſe however ſhould be due before it is given. The author of Waller's Life aſcribes to him the firſt practice, of what Erythræus and ſome late critics call *Alliteration*, of uſing in the ſame verſe many words beginning

with the ſame letter. But this knack, whatever be its value, was ſo frequent among early writers, that Gaſcoign, a writer of the ſixteenth century, warns the young poet againſt affecting it; Shakſpeare in the *Midſummer Night's Dream* is ſuppoſed to ridicule it; and in another play the ſonnet of Holofernes fully diſplays it.

He borrows too many of his ſentiments and illuſtrations from the old Mythology, for which it is vain to plead the example of ancient poets: the deities which they introduced ſo frequently, were conſidered as realities, ſo far as to be received by the imagination, whatever ſober reaſon might even then determine. But of theſe images time has tarniſhed the ſplendor. A fiction, not only detected but deſpiſed, can never afford a ſolid baſis to any poſition, though ſometimes it may furniſh a tranſient alluſion, or ſlight illuſtration. No modern monarch can be much exalted by hearing that, as Hercules had had his *club*, he has his *navy*.

But of the praiſe of Waller, though much may be taken away, much will remain; for it cannot be denied that he added ſomething to our elegance of diction, and ſomething to our propriety of thought; and to him may be applied what Taſſo ſaid, with equal ſpirit and juſtice of himſelf and Guarini, when, having peruſed the *Paſtor Fido*, he cried out, "If he had not read *Aminta*, he had not ex-"celled it."

AS Waller profeſſed himſelf to have learned the art of verſification from Fairfax, it has been thought proper to ſubjoin a ſpecimen of his work, which, after Mr. Hoole's tranſlation, will perhaps not be ſoon reprinted. By knowing the ſtate in which Waller found our poetry, the reader may judge how much he improved it.

1.

Erminiaes ſteed (this while) his miſtreſſe bore
Through forreſts thicke among the ſhadie treene,
Her feeble hand the bridle raines forlore,
Halfe in a ſwoune ſhe was for feare I weene;
But her ſlit courſer ſpared nere the more,
To beare her through the deſart woods unſeene
Of her ſtrong foes, that chas'd her through the plaine,
And ſtill purſu'd, but ſtill purſu'd in vaine.

2.

Like as the wearie hounds at laſt retire,
Windleſſe, diſpleaſed, from the fruitleſſe chace,
When the ſlie beaſt Tapiſht in buſh and brire,
No art nor paines can rowſe out of his place:
The Chriſtian knights ſo full of ſhame and ire
Returned backe, with faint and wearie pace!
Yet ſtill the fearefull Dame fled, ſwift as winde,
Nor euer ſtaid, nor euer lookt behinde.

3. Through

3.

Through thicke and thinne, all night, all day, ſhe driued,
Withouten comfort, companie or guide,
Her plaints and teares with euery thought reuiued,
She heard and ſaw her greefes, but nought beſide.
But when the ſunne his burning chariot diued
In Thetis waue, and wearie teame vntide,
On Iordans ſandie banks her courſe ſhe ſtaid,
At laſt, there downe ſhe light, and downe ſhe laid.

4.

Her teares, her drinke; her food, her ſorrowings,
This was her diet that vnhappie night:
But ſleepe (that ſweet repoſe and quiet brings)
To eaſe the greefes of diſcontented wight,
Spred foorth his tender, ſoft, and nimble wings,
In his dull armes foulding the virgin bright;
And loue, his mother, and the graces kept
Strong watch and warde, while this faire Ladie ſlept.

5.

The birds awakte her with their morning ſong,
Their warbling muſicke pearſt her tender eare,
The murmuring brookes and whiſtling windes among
The ratling boughes, and leaues, their parts did beare;
Her eies vnclos'd beheld the groues alongn
Of ſwaines and ſhepherd groomes, that dwellings weare;

And that ſweet noiſe, birds, winds, and waters ſent,
Prouokte againe the virgin to lament.

6.

Her plaints were interrupted with a ſound,
That ſeem'd from thickeſt buſhes to proceed,
Some iolly ſhepherd ſung a luſtie round,
And to his voice had tun'd his oaten reed;
Thither ſhe went, an old man there ſhe found,
(At whoſe right hand his little flock did feed)
Sat making baſkets, his three ſonnes among,
That learn'd their fathers art, and learn'd his ſong.

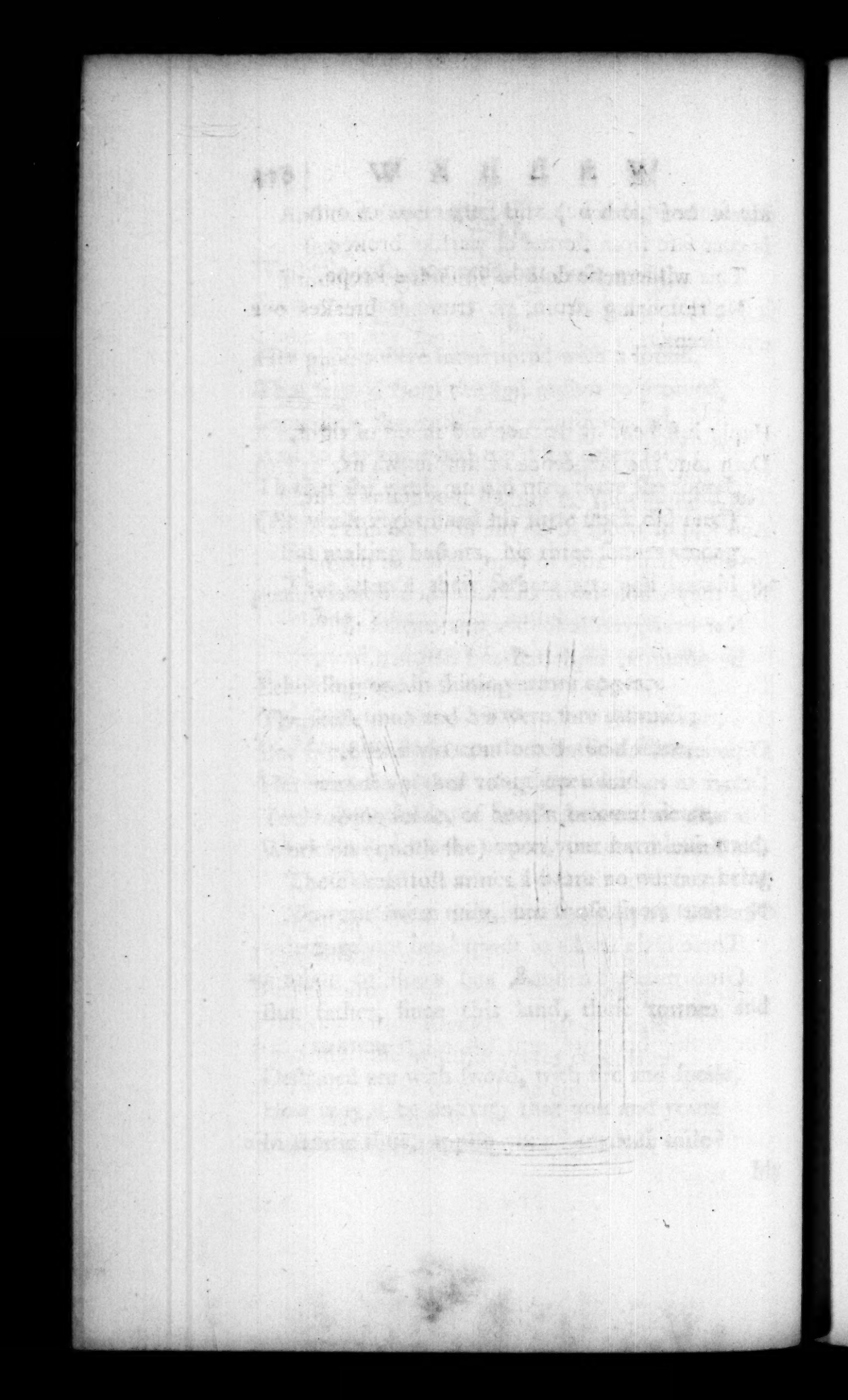
7.

Beholding one in ſhining armes appeare
The ſeelie man and his were ſore diſmaid;
But ſweet Erminia comforted their feare,
Her ventall vp, her viſage open laid,
You happie folke, of heau'n beloued deare,
Work on (quoth ſhe) vpon your harmleſſe traid,
Theſe dreadfull armes I beare no warfare bring
To your ſweet toile, nor thoſe ſweet tunes you ſing.

8.

But father, ſince this land, theſe townes and towres,
Deſtroied are with ſword, with fire and ſpoile,
How may it be unhurt, that you and yours
In ſafetie thus, applie your harmleſſe toile?

My



My ſonne (quoth he) this pore eſtate of ours
Is euer ſafe from ſtorme of warlike broile;
This wilderneſſe doth vs in ſafetie keepe,
No thundring drum, no trumpet breakes our ſleepe.

9.

Haply iuſt heau'ns defence and ſhield of right,
Doth loue the innocence of ſimple ſwains,
The thunderbolts on higheſt mountains light,
And ſeld or neuer ſtrike the lower plaines:
So kings haue cauſe to feare *Bellonaes* might,
Not they whoſe ſweat and toile their dinner gaines,
Nor ever greedie ſoldier was entiſed
By pouertie, neglected and deſpiſed.

10.

O pouertie, chefe of the heau'nly brood,
Dearer to me than wealth or kingly crowne!
No wiſh for honour, thirſt of others good,
Can moue my hart, contented with mine owne:
We quench or thirſt with water of this flood,
Nor fear we poiſon ſhould therein be throwne:
Theſe little flocks of ſheepe and tender goates
Giue milke for food, and wooll to make us coates.

11.

We little wiſh, we need but little wealth,
From cold and hunger vs to cloath and feed;
Theſe are my ſonnes, their care perſerues from ſtealth
Their fathers flocks, nor ſervants moe I need:
Amid theſe groues I walke oft for my health,
And to the fiſhes, birds and beaſtes giue heed,
How they are fed, in forreſt, ſpring and lake,
And their contentment for enſample take.

12.

Time was (for each one hath his doting time,
Theſe ſiluer locks were golden treſſes than)
That countrie life I hated as a crime,
And from the forreſts ſweet contentment ran,
To Memphis ſtately pallace would I clime,
And there became the mightie Caliphes man,
And though I but a ſimple gardner weare,
Yet could I marke abuſes, ſee and heare.

13.

Entiſed on with hope of future gaine,
I ſuffred long what did my ſoule diſpleaſe;
But when my youth was ſpent, my hope was vaine,
I felt my native ſtrength at laſt decreaſe;
I gan my loſſe of luſtie yeeres complaine,
And wiſht I had enjoy'd the countries peace;
I bod the court farewell, and with content
My later age here have I quiet ſpent.

14. While

14.

While thus he ſpake, Erminia huſht and ſtill
His wiſe diſcourſes heard, with great attention,
His ſpeeches graue thoſe idle fancies kill,
Which in her troubled ſoule bred ſuch diſſention;
After much thought reformed was her will,
Within thoſe woods to dwell was her intention,
Till fortune ſhould occaſion new afford,
To turne her home to her deſired Lord.

15.

She ſaid therefore, O ſhepherd fortunate!
That troubles ſome didſt whilom feele and proue,
Yet liueſt now in this contented ſtate,
Let my miſhap thy thoughts to pitie moue,
To entertaine me as a willing mate
In ſhepherds life, which I admire and loue;
Within theſe pleaſant groues perchance my hart,
Of her diſcomforts, may vnload ſome part.

16.

If gold or wealth of moſt eſteemed deare,
If iewels rich, thou diddeſt hold in priſe,
Such ſtore thereof, ſuch plentie haue I ſeen,
As to a greedie minde might well ſuffice:
With that downe trickled many a ſiluer teare,
Two chriſtall ſtreames fell from her watrie eies;
Part of her ſad misfortunes than ſhe told,
And wept, and with her wept that ſhepherd old.

17.

With ſpeeches kinde, he gan the virgin deare
Towards his cottage gently home to guide;
His aged wife there made her homely cheare,
Yet welcomde her, and plaſt her by her ſide,
The Princeſſe dond a poore paſtoraes geare,
A kerchiefe courſe vpon her head ſhe tide;
But yet her geſtures and her lookes (I geſſe)
Were ſuch, as ill beſeem'd a ſhepherdeſſe.

18.

Not thoſe rude garments could obſcure, and hide,
The heau'nly beautie of her angels face,
Nor was her princely ofspring damnifide,
Or ought diſparag'de, by thoſe labours bace;
Her little flocks to paſture would ſhe guide,
And milke her goates, and in their folds them place,
Both cheeſe and butter could ſhe make, and frame
Her ſelfe to pleaſe the ſhepherd and his dame.

POMFRET.

OF Mr. JOHN POMFRET nothing is known but from a ſlight and confuſed account prefixed to his poems by a nameleſs friend; who relates, that he was the ſon of the Rev. Mr. Pomfret, rector of Luton in Bedfordſhire; that he was bred at Cambridge, entered into orders, and was rector of Malden in Bedfordſhire, and might have riſen in the Church; but that, when he applied to Dr. Compton, biſhop of London, for inſtitution to a living of conſiderable value, to which he had been preſented, he found a troubleſome obſtruction raiſed by a malicious interpretation of ſome paſſage in his *Choice*; from which it was inferred, that he conſidered happineſs as more likely to be found in the company of a miſtreſs than of a wife.

This reproach was eaſily obliterated: for it had happened to Pomfret as to almoſt all other men who plan ſchemes of life; he had departed from his purpoſe, and was then married. The

The malice of his enemies had however a very fatal conſequence: the delay conſtrained his attendance in London, where he caught the ſmall-pox, and died in 1703, in the thirty-ſixth year of his age.

He publiſhed his poems in 1699; and has been always the favourite of that claſs of readers, who, without vanity or criticiſm, ſeek only their own amuſement.

His *Choice* exhibits a ſyſtem of life adapted to common notions, and equal to common expectations; ſuch a ſtate as affords plenty and tranquillity, without excluſion of intellectual pleaſures. Perhaps no compoſition in our language has been oftener peruſed than Pomfret's *Choice*.

In his other poems there is an eaſy volubility; the pleaſure of ſmooth metre is afforded to the ear, and the mind is not oppreſſed with ponderous or entangled with intricate ſentiment. He pleaſes many, and he who pleaſes many muſt have ſome ſpecies of merit.

DORSET.

DORSET.

DORSET.

OF the Earl of Dorſet the character has been drawn ſo largely and ſo elegantly by Prior, to whom he was familiarly known, that nothing can be added by a caſual hand; and, as its authour is ſo generally read, it would be uſeleſs officiouſneſs to tranſcribe it.

Charles Sackville was born January 24, 1637. Having been educated under a private tutor, he travelled into Italy, and returned a little before the Reſtoration. He was choſen into the firſt parliament that was called, for Eaſt Grinſtead in Suſſex, and ſoon became a favourite of Charles the Second; but undertook no publick employment, being too eager of the riotous and licentious pleaſures which

which young men of high rank, who aſpired to be thought wits, at that time imagined themſelves intitled to indulge.

One of theſe Frolicks has, by the induſtry of Wood, come down to poſterity. Sackville, who was then Lord Buckhurſt, with Sir Charles Sedley and Sir Thomas Ogle, got drunk at the Cock in Bow-ſtreet by Covent-garden, and, going into the balcony, expoſed themſelves to the populace in very indecent poſtures. At laſt, as they grew warmer, Sedley ſtood forth naked, and harangued the populace in ſuch profane language, that the publick indignation was awakened; the crowd attempted to force the door, and, being repulſed, drove in the performers with ſtones, and broke the windows of the houſe.

For this miſdemeanour they were indicted, and Sedley was fined five hundred pounds: what was the ſentence of the others is not known. Sedley employed Killigrew and another to procure a remiſſion from the king; but (mark the friendſhip of the diſſolute!) they begged the fine for themſelves, and exacted it to the laſt groat.

In

In 1665, Lord Buckhurſt attended the Duke of York as a volunteer in the Dutch war; and was in the battle of June 3, when eighteen great Dutch ſhips were taken, fourteen others were deſtroyed, and Opdam the admiral, who engaged the Duke, was blown up beſide him, with all his crew.

On the day before the battle, he is ſaid to have compoſed the celebrated ſong, *To all you Ladies now at land*, with equal tranquillity of mind and promptitude of wit. Seldom any ſplendid ſtory is wholly true. I have heard from the late Earl of Orrery, who was likely to have good hereditary intelligence, that Lord Buckhurſt had been a week employed upon it, and only retouched or finiſhed it on the memorable evening. But even this, whatever it may ſubſtract from his facility, leaves him his courage.

He was ſoon after made a gentleman of the bedchamber, and ſent on ſhort embaſſies to France.

In 1674, the eſtate of his uncle James Cranfield, Earl of Middleſex, came to him by its owner's death, and the title was conferred on him the year after. In 1677, he became, by the death of his father, Earl of Dorſet, and inherited the eſtate of his family.

In 1684, having buried his firſt wife, of the family of Bagot, who left him no child, he married a daughter of the Earl of Northampton, celebrated both for beauty and underſtanding.

He received ſome favourable notice from King James; but ſoon found it neceſſary to oppoſe the violence of his innovations, and with ſome other Lords appeared in Weſtminſter-hall, to countenance the Biſhops at their trial.

As enormities grew every day leſs ſupportable, he found it neceſſary to concur in the Revolution. He was one of thoſe Lords who ſat every day in council to preſerve the publick peace, after the king's departure; and, what is not the moſt illuſtrious action of his life, was employed to conduct the

Princeſs

Princeſs Anne to Nottingham with a guard, ſuch as might alarm the populace, as they paſſed, with falſe apprehenſions of her danger. Whatever end may be deſigned, there is always ſomething deſpicable in a trick.

He became, as may be eaſily ſuppoſed, a favourite of King William, who, the day after his acceſſion, made him lord chamberlain of the houſehold, and gave him afterwards the garter. He happened to be among thoſe that were toſſed with the King in an open boat ſixteen hours, in very rough and cold weather, on the coaſt of Holland. His health afterwards declined; and on Jan. 19, 1705-6, he died at Bath.

He was a man whoſe elegance and judgement were univerſally confeſſed, and whoſe bounty to the learned and witty was generally known. To the indulgent affection of the publick, Lord Rocheſter bore ample teſtimony in this remark: *I know not how it is, but* Lord Buckhurſt *may do what he will, yet is never in the wrong.*

If ſuch a man attempted poetry, we cannot wonder that his works were praiſed. Dryden, whom, if Prior tells truth, he diſtinguiſhed by his beneficence, and who laviſhed his blandiſhments on thoſe who are not known to have ſo well deſerved them, undertaking to produce authors of our own country ſuperior to thoſe of antiquity, ſays, *I would inſtance your Lordſhip in ſatire, and Shakſpeare in tragedy.* Would it be imagined that, of this rival to antiquity, all the ſatires were little perſonal invectives, and that his longeſt compoſition was a ſong of eleven ſtanzas?

The blame, however, of this exaggerated praiſe falls on the encomiaſt, not upon the author; whoſe performances are, what they pretend to be, the effuſions of a man of wit; gay, vigorous, and airy. His verſes to Howard ſhew great fertility of mind, and his *Dorinda* has been imitated by Pope.

STEPNEY.

STEPNEY.

GEORGE STEPNEY, defended from the Steppes of Pendegrask in Pembrokeshire, was born at Westminster in 166[illegible]. Of his father's condition or fortune I have no account. He received the first part of his education at Westminster, where he paſſed ſix years in the College, he went at ſixteen to Cambridge, where he continued a friendſhip begun at ſchool with Mr Montague, afterwards Earl of Halifax. They came to London together, and are ſaid to have been invited into publick life by the Duke of Dorſet.

His qualifications recommended him to many foreign employments, ſo that his time ſeems to have been ſpent in negotiations. In 169[illegible] he was firſt envoy to the Elector of

D O R S E T.

If fuch a man attempted poetry, we cannot wonder that his wit was very much refined. Dryden, whom, if Pope tells truth, he diſtinguiſhed by his beneficence, and who invited his acknowledgments on thoſe who are not known to have ſo well deſerved them, undertaking to produce anthors of our own country ſuperior to thoſe of antiquity, ſays, *I would inſtance your Lordſhip in Horace, and ſhall prove it by parts.* Would it be imagined that, of this rival to antiquity, all the letters were little perſonal ſatyrs, and that his longeſt compoſition was a ſong of eleven ſtanzas?

The blame, however, of this exaggerated praiſe falls on the encomiaſt, not upon the author: whoſe poetical virtues are, what they pretend to be, the effuſions of a man of wit; gay, vigorous, and terſe. His verſes to Howard ſhew great fertility of mind, and his *Dorinda* has been imitated by Pope.

PRIOR.

STEPNEY.

GEORGE STEPNEY, deſcended from the Stepneys of Pendegraſt in Pembrokeſhire, was born at Weſtminſter in 1663. Of his father's condition or fortune I have no account. Having received the firſt part of his education at Weſtminſter, where he paſſed ſix years in the College, he went at nineteen to Cambridge, where he continued a friendſhip begun at ſchool with Mr. Montague, afterwards Earl of Halifax. They came to London together, and are ſaid to have been invited into publick life by the Duke of Dorſet.

His qualifications recommended him to many foreign employments, ſo that his time ſeems to have been ſpent in negotiations. In 1692 he was ſent envoy to the Elector of

Brandenburgh; in 1693 to the Imperial Court in 1694 to the Elector of Saxony; in 1696 to the Electors of Mentz and Cologne, and the Congreſs at Francfort; in 1698 a ſecond time to Brandenburgh; in 1699 to the King of Poland; in 1701 again to the Emperor; and in 1706 to the States General. In 1697 he was made one of the commiſſioners of trade. His life was buſy, and not long. He died in 1707; and is buried in Weſtminſter-Abbey, with this epitaph, which *Jacob* tranſcribed,

H. S. E.
GEORGIUS STEPNEIUS, Armiger,
Vir
Ob Ingenii acumen,
Literarum Scientiam,
Morum Suavitatem,
Rerum Uſum,
Virorum Ampliſſimorum Conſuetudinem,
Linguæ, Styli, ac Vitæ Elegantiam,
Præclara Officia cum Britanniæ tum Europæ
præſtita,
Sua ætate multum celebratus,
Apud poſteros ſemper celebrandus;
Plurimas Legationes obiit
Ea Fide, Diligentia, ac Felicitate,
Ut Auguſtiſſimorum Principum
Gulielmi & Annæ

Spem

Spem in illo repoſitam
Numquam fefellerit,
Haud raro ſuperaverit.
Poſt longum honorum Curſum
Brevi Temporis Spatio confectum,
Cum Naturæ parum, Famæ ſatis vixerat,
Animam ad altiora aſpirantem placide efflavit.

On the Left Hand:

G. S.
Ex Equeſtri Familia Stepneiorum,
De Pendegraſt, in Comitatu
Pembrochienſi oriundus,
Weſtmonaſterii natus eſt, A. D. 1663.
Electus in Collegium
Sancti Petri Weſtmonaſt. A. 1676.
Sancti Trinitatis Cantab. 1682.
Conſiliariorum quibus Commercii
Cura commiſſa eſt 1697.
Chelſeiæ mortuus, &, comitante
Magna Procerum
Frequentia, huc elatus, 1707.

It is reported that the juvenile compoſitions of Stepney *made grey authors bluſh*. I know not whether his poems will appear ſuch wonders to the preſent age. One cannot always eaſily find the reaſon for which

the world has ſometimes conſpired to ſquander praiſe. It is not very unlikely that he wrote very early as well as he ever wrote; and the performances of youth have many favourers, becauſe the authors yet lay no claim to publick honours, and are therefore not conſidered as rivals by the diſtributors of fame.

He apparently profeſſed himſelf a poet, and added his name to thoſe of the other wits in the verſion of Juvenal; but he is a very licentious tranſlator, and does not recompenſe his neglect of the author by beauties of his own. In his original poems, now and then, a happy line may perhaps be found, and now and then a ſhort compoſition may give pleaſure. But there is in the whole little either of the grace of wit, or the vigour of nature.

J. PHI.

J. PHILIPS.

JOHN PHILIPS was born on the 30th of December, 1676, at Bampton in Oxfordſhire; of which place his father Dr. Stephen Philips, archdeacon of Salop, was miniſter. The firſt part of his education was domeſtick, after which he was ſent to Wincheſter, where, as we are told by Dr. Sewel, his biographer, he was ſoon diſtinguiſhed by the ſuperiority of his exerciſes; and, what is leſs eaſily to be credited, ſo much endeared himſelf to his ſchoolfellows, by his civility and good-nature, that they, without murmur or ill-will, ſaw him indulged by the maſter with particular immunities. It is related, that, when he was at ſchool, he ſeldom mingled in play with the other boys, but retired to his chamber; where

his ſovereign pleaſure was to ſit, hour after hour, while his hair was combed by ſomebody, whoſe ſervice he found means to procure.

At ſchool he became acquainted with the poets ancient and modern, and fixed his attention particularly on Milton.

In 1694 he entered himſelf at Chriſt-church; a college at that time in the higheſt reputation, by the tranſmiſſion of Buſby's ſcholars to the care firſt of *Fell*, and afterwards of *Aldrich*. Here he was diſtinguiſhed as a genius eminent among the eminent, and for friendſhip particularly intimate with Mr. Smith, the author of *Phædra and Hippolytus*. The profeſſion which he intended to follow was that of Phyſick; and he took much delight in natural hiſtory, of which botany was his favourite part.

His reputation was confined to his friends and to the univerſity; till about 1703 he extended it to a wider circle by the *Splendid Shilling*, which ſtruck the publick attention with a mode of writing new and unexpected.

This

This performance raiſed him ſo high, that when Europe reſounded with the victory of Blenheim, he was, probably with an occult oppoſition to Addiſon, employed to deliver the acclamation of the Tories. It is ſaid that he would willingly have declined the taſk, but that his friends urged it upon him. It appears that he wrote this poem at the houſe of Mr. St. John.

Blenheim was publiſhed in 1705. The next year produced his greateſt work, the poem upon *Cider*, in two books; which was received with loud praiſes, and continued long to be read, as an imitation of Virgil's *Georgic*, which needed not ſhun the preſence of the original.

He then grew probably more confident of his own abilities, and began to meditate a poem on the *Laſt day*; a ſubject on which no mind can hope to equal expectation.

This work he did not live to finiſh; his diſeaſes, a ſlow conſumption and an aſthma, put a ſtop to his ſtudies; and on Feb. 15, 1708,

1708, at the beginning of his thirty-third year, put an end to his life. He was buried in the cathedral of Hereford; and Sir *Simon Harcourt*, afterwards Lord Chancellor, gave him a monument in Weſtminſter Abbey. The inſcription at Weſtminſter was written, as I have heard, by Dr. *Atterbury*, though commonly given to Dr. *Freind*.

His Epitaph at Hereford:

JOHANNES PHILIPS

Obiit 15 die Feb. Anno { Dom. 1708. / Ætat. ſuæ 32.

Cujus
Oſſa ſi requiras, hanc Urnam inſpice;
Si Ingenium neſcias, ipſius Opera conſule;
Si Tumulum deſideras,
Templum adi *Weſtmonaſterienſe*:
Qualis quantuſque Vir fuerit,
Dicat elegans illa & preclara,
Quæ cenotaphium ibi decorat
Inſcriptio.
Quàm interim erga Cognatos pius & officioſus,
Teſtetur hoc ſaxum
A MARIA PHILIPS Matre ipſius pientiſſimâ,
Dilecti Filii Memoriæ non ſine Lacrymis dicatum.

His

1708, at the beginning of his thirty-second year, put an end to his life. He was buried in the cathedral of Hereford; and Archbishop *Harcourt*, afterwards Lord Chancellor, erected a monument to him in Westminster Abbey. The inscription at Westminster was written, as I have heard, by Dr. *Mayhew*, but is commonly given to Dr. *Freind*.

His Epitaph at Hereford.

JOHANNES PHILIPS

Obiit 15 die Feb. Ann. Dom. 1708.

Et

Cui

Ossa si requiras, hasce Urnula inspice;

Si Ingenium noscias, ipsius Opera docebunt.

Si Tumulum desideres,

Templum adi Westmonasteriense.

Quodsi quantulumcunque Vatis

Dicta elegans illa Simplicitas,

Ingens eruditionis decorat

Infelicitas,

Quibus inimitabile Cognomen plus & officiosi

Testetur hoc saxum

A Matre Pietate Marte ipsius pientissimi,

Dilecti Filii Memoriæ non sine Lacrymis dicatum.

His

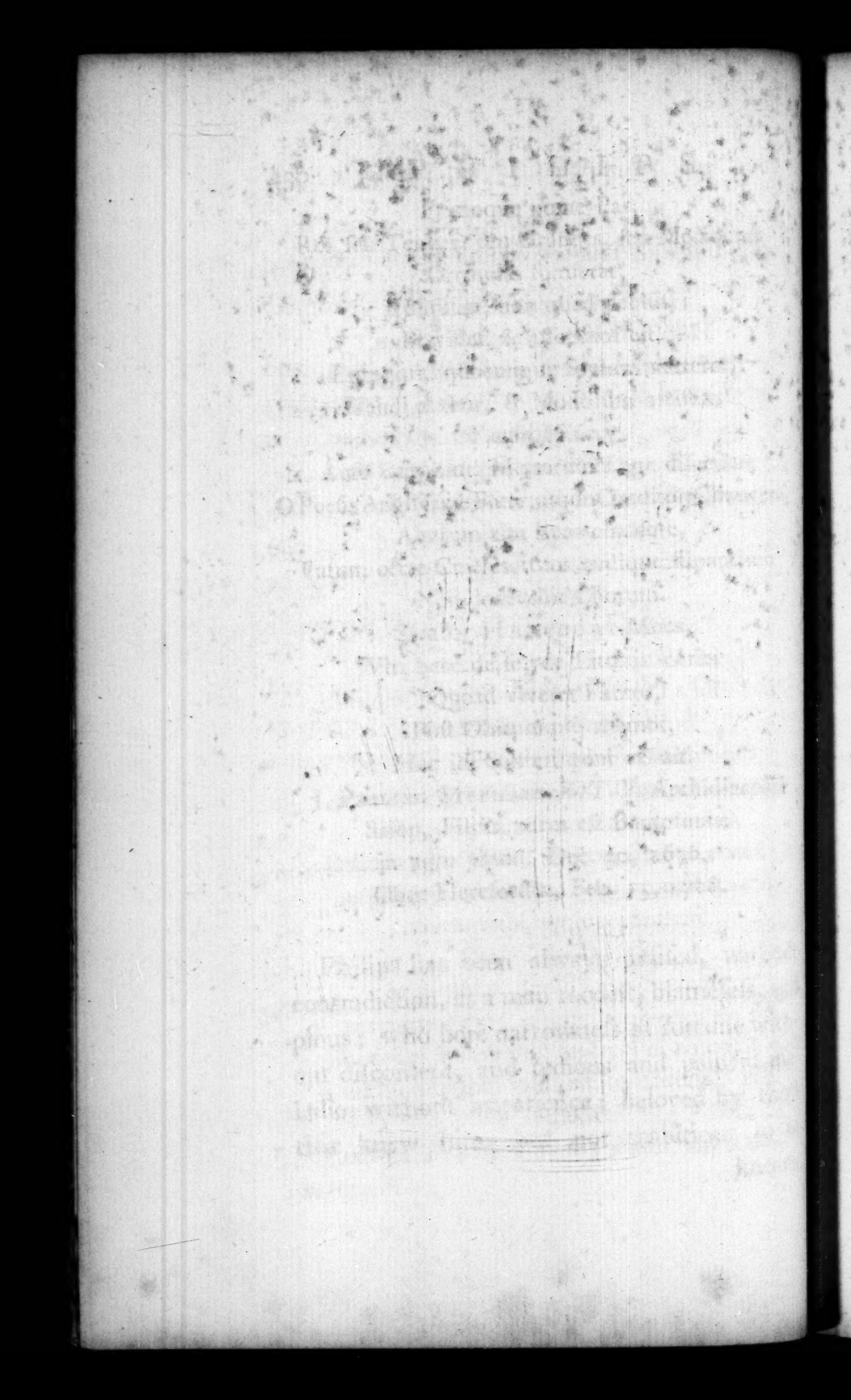
His Epitaph at Weſtminſter:

Herefordiæ conduntur Oſſa,
Hoc in Delubro ſtatuitur Imago,
Britanniam omnem pervagatur Fama
JOHANNIS PHILIPS:
Qui Viris bonis doctiſque juxta charus,
Immortale ſuum Ingenium,
Eruditione multiplici excultum,
Miro animi candore,
Eximiâ morum ſimplicitate,
Honeſtavit.
Litterarum Amœniorum ſitim,
Quam Wintoniæ Puer ſentire cœperat,
Inter Ædis Chriſti Alumnos jugiter explevit,
In illo Muſarum Domicilio
Præclaris Æmulorum ſtudiis excitatus,
Optimis ſcribendi Magiſtris ſemper intentus,
Carmina ſermone Patrio compoſuit
A Græcis Latiniſque fontibus feliciter deducta,
Atticis Romaniſque auribus omnino digna,
Verſuum quippe Harmoniam
Rythmo didicerat
Antiquo illo, libero, multiformi
Ad res ipſas apto prorſus, & attemperato,
Non Numeris in eundem ferè orbem redeuntibus,
Non Clauſularum ſimiliter cadentium ſono
Metiri:
Uni in hoc laudis genere Miltono ſecundus,

Primoque

Primoque pœne Par.
Res ſeu Tenues, ſeu Grandes, ſeu Mediocres
Ornandas ſumſerat,
Nuſquam, non quod decuit,
Et videt, & aſſecutus eſt,
Egregius, quocunque Stylum verteret,
Fandi author, & Modorum artifex.
Fas ſit Huic,
Auſo licèt à tuâ Metrorum Lege diſcedere
O Poeſis Anglicanæ Pater, atque Conditor, Chaucere,
Alterum tibi latus claudere,
Vatum certe Cineres, tuos undique ſtipantium
Non dedecebit Chorum.
SIMON HARCOURT Miles,
Viri benè de ſe, de Litteris meriti
Quoad viveret Fautor,
Poſt Obitum piè memor,
Hoc illi Saxum poni voluit.
J. PHILIPS, STEPHANI, S. T. P. Archidiaconi
Salop, Filius, natus eſt Bamptoniæ
in agro Oxon. Dec. 30, 1676.
Obiit Herefordiæ, Feb. 15, 1708.

Philips has been always praiſed, without contradiction, as a man modeſt, blameleſs, and pious; who bore narrowneſs of fortune without diſcontent, and tedious and painful maladies without impatience; beloved by thoſe that knew him, but not ambitious to be known.



known. He was probably not formed for a wide circle. His converſation is commended for its innocent gaiety, which ſeems to have flowed only among his intimates: for I have been told, that he was in company ſilent and barren, and employed only upon the pleaſures of his pipe. His addiction to tobacco is mentioned by one of his biographers, who remarks that in all his writings, except *Blenheim*, he has found an opportunity of celebrating the fragrant fume. In common life he was probably one of thoſe who pleaſe by not offending, and whoſe perſon was loved becauſe his writings were admired. He died honoured and lamented, before any part of his reputation had withered, and before his patron St. John had diſgraced him.

His works are few. The *Splendid Shilling* has the uncommon merit of an original deſign, unleſs it may be thought precluded by the ancient *Centos*. To degrade the ſounding words and ſtately conſtruction of Milton, by an application to the loweſt and moſt trivial things, gratifies the mind with a momentary triumph over that grandeur which hitherto held its captives in admiration; the

words and things are presented with a new appearance, and novelty is always grateful where it gives no pain.

But the merit of such performances begins and ends with the first author. He that should again adapt Milton's phrase to the gross incidents of common life, and even adapt it with more art, which would not be difficult, must yet expect but a small part of the praise which Philips has obtained; he can only hope to be considered as the repeater of a jest.

"The parody on Milton," says Gildon, "is the only tolerable production of its author." This is a censure too dogmatical and violent. The poem of *Blenheim* was never denied to be tolerable, even by those who do not allow its supreme excellence. It is indeed the poem of a scholar, *all inexpert of war*; of a man who writes books from books, and studies the world in a college. He seems to have formed his ideas of the field of *Blenheim* from the battles of the heroic ages, or the tales of chivalry, with very little comprehension of the qualities necessary to the composition of a modern hero,

hero, which Addiſon has diſplayed with ſo much propriety. He makes *Marlborough* behold at diſtance the ſlaughter made by *Tallard*, then haſte to encounter and reſtrain him, and mow his way through ranks made headleſs by his ſword.

He imitates Milton's numbers indeed, but imitates them very injudiciouſly. Deformity is eaſily copied; and whatever there is in Milton which the reader wiſhes away, all that is obſolete, peculiar, or licentious, is accumulated with great care by Philips. Milton's verſe was harmonious, in proportion to the general ſtate of our metre in Milton's age; and, if he had written after the improvements made by Dryden, it is reaſonable to believe that he would have admitted a more pleaſing modulation of numbers into his work; but Philips ſits down with a reſolution to make no more muſick than he found; to want all that his maſter wanted, though he is very far from having what his maſter had. Thoſe aſperities, therefore, that are venerable in the *Paradiſe Loſt*, are contemptible in the *Blenheim*.

There is a Latin ode written to his patron St. John, in return for a preſent of wine and tobacco, which cannot be paſſed without notice. It is gay and elegant, and exhibits ſeveral artful accommodations of claſſick expreſſions to new purpoſes. It ſeems better turned than the odes of *Hannes* *.

To the poem on *Cider*, written in imitation of the *Georgicks*, may be given this peculiar praiſe, that it is grounded in truth; that the precepts which it contains are exact and juſt; and that it is therefore, at once, a book of entertainment and of ſcience. This I was told by Miller, the great gardener and botaniſt, whoſe expreſſion was, that *there were many books written on the ſame ſubject in proſe, which do not contain ſo much truth as that poem.*

* This ode I am willing to mention, becauſe there ſeems to be an error in all the printed copies, which is, I find, retained in the laſt. They all read;

Quam Gratiarum cura decentium
O! O! labellis cui Venus inſidet.

The author probably wrote,

Quam Gratiarum cura decentium
Ornat; labellis cui Venus inſidet.

In

In the diſpoſition of his matter, ſo as to interſperſe precepts relating to the culture of trees, with ſentiments more generally alluring, and in eaſy and graceful tranſitions from one ſubject to another, he has very diligently imitated his maſter; but he unhappily pleaſed himſelf with blank verſe, and ſuppoſed that the numbers of Milton, which impreſs the mind with veneration, combined as they are with ſubjects of inconceivable grandeur, could be ſuſtained by images which at moſt can riſe only to elegance. Contending angels may ſhake the regions of heaven in blank verſe; but the flow of equal meaſures, and the embelliſhment of rhyme, muſt recommend to our attention the art of engrafting, and decide the merit of the *redſtreak* and *pearmain*.

What ſtudy could confer, Philips had obtained; but natural deficience cannot be ſupplied. He ſeems not born to greatneſs and elevation. He is never lofty, nor does he often ſurpriſe with unexpected excellence; but perhaps to his laſt poem may be applied what

Tully ſaid of the work of Lucretius, that *it is written with much art, though with few blazes of genius.*

The following fragment, written by Edmund Smith, upon the works of Philips, has been tranſcribed from the Bodleian manuſcripts.

" A prefatory Diſcourſe to the Poem on Mr. Philips, with a character of his writings.

" IT is altogether as equitable ſome account ſhould be given of thoſe who have diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their writings, as of thoſe who are renowned for great actions. It is but reaſonable they, who contribute ſo much to the immortality of others, ſhould have ſome ſhare in it themſelves; and ſince their genius only is diſcovered by their works, it is juſt that their virtues ſhould be recorded by their friends. For no modeſt men (as the perſon I write of was in perfection)

tion) will write their own panegyricks; and it is very hard that they ſhould go without reputation, only becauſe they the more deſerve it. The end of writing Lives is for the imitation of the readers. It will be in the power of very few to imitate the duke of Marlborough; we muſt be content with admiring his great qualities and actions, without hopes of following them. The private and ſocial virtues are more eaſily tranſcribed. The Life of Cowley is more inſtructive, as well as more fine, than any we have in our language. And it is to be wiſhed, ſince Mr. Philips had ſo many of the good qualities of that poet, that I had ſome of the abilities of his hiſtorian.

The Grecian philoſophers have had their Lives written, their morals commended, and their ſayings recorded. Mr. Philips had all the virtues to which moſt of them only pretended, and all their integrity without any of their affectation.

The French are very juſt to eminent men in this point; not a learned man nor a poet can die, but all Europe muſt be acquainted

with his accompliſhments. They give praiſe and expect it in their turns: they commend their Patru's and Moliere's as well as their Conde's and Turenne's; their Pelliſons and Racines have their elogies as well as the prince whom they celebrate; and their poems, their mercuries, and orations, nay their very gazettes, are filled with the praiſes of the learned.

I am ſatisfied, had they a Philips among them, and known how to value him; had they one of his learning, his temper, but above all of that particular turn of humour, that altogether new genius, he had been an example to their poets, and a ſubject of their panegyricks, and perhaps ſet in competition with the ancients, to whom only he ought to ſubmit.

I ſhall therefore endeavour to do juſtice to his memory, ſince nobody elſe undertakes it. And indeed I can aſſign no cauſe why ſo many of his acquaintance (that are as willing and more able than myſelf to give an account of him) ſhould forbear to celebrate the memory of one ſo dear to them, but only that

that they look upon it as a work intirely belonging to me.

I ſhall content myſelf with giving only a character of the perſon and his writings, without meddling with the tranſactions of his life, which was altogether private: I ſhall only make this known obſervation of his family, that there was ſcarce ſo many extraordinary men in any one. I have been acquainted with five of his brothers (of which three are ſtill living), all men of fine parts, yet all of a very unlike temper and genius. So that their fruitful mother, like the mother of the gods, ſeems to have produced a numerous offspring, all of different though uncommon faculties. Of the living, neither their modeſty nor the humour of the preſent age permits me to ſpeak: of the dead, I may ſay ſomething.

One of them had made the greateſt progreſs in the ſtudy of the law of nature and nations of any one I know. He had perfectly maſtered, and even improved, the notions of Grotius, and the more refined ones of Puffendorf. He could refute Hobbes with

as much ſolidity as ſome of greater name, and expoſe him with as much wit as Echard. That noble ſtudy, which requires the greateſt reach of reaſon and nicety of diſtinction, was not at all difficult to him. 'Twas a national loſs to be deprived of one who underſtood a ſcience ſo neceſſary, and yet ſo unknown in England. I ſhall add only, he had the ſame honeſty and ſincerity as the perſon I write of, but more heat: the former was more inclined to argue, the latter to divert: one employed his reaſon more; the other his imagination: the former had been well qualified for thoſe poſts, which the modeſty of the latter made him refuſe. His other dead brother would have been an ornament to the college of which he was a member. He had a genius either for poetry or oratory; and, though very young, compoſed ſeveral very agreeable pieces. In all probability he would have wrote as finely, as his brother did nobly. He might have been the Waller, as the other was the Milton of his time. The one might celebrate Marlborough, the other his beautiful offspring. This had not been ſo fit to deſcribe the actions of heroes as the virtues

of

of private men. In a word, he had been fitter for my place; and while his brother was writing upon the greateſt men that any age ever produced, in a ſtyle equal to them, he might have ſerved as a panegyriſt on him.

This is all I think neceſſary to ſay of his family. I ſhall proceed to himſelf and his writings; which I ſhall firſt treat of, becauſe I know they are cenſured by ſome out of envy, and more out of ignorance.

The *Splendid Shilling*, which is far the leaſt conſiderable, has the more general reputation, and perhaps hinders the character of the reſt. The ſtyle agreed ſo well with the burleſque, that the ignorant thought it could become nothing elſe. Every body is pleaſed with that work. But to judge rightly of the other, requires a perfect maſtery of poetry and criticiſm, a juſt contempt of the little turns and witticiſms now in vogue, and, above all, a perfect underſtanding of poetical diction and deſcription.

All

All that have any taſte of poetry will agree, that the great burleſque is much to be preferred to the low. It is much eaſier to make a great thing appear little, than a little one great: Cotton and others of a very low genius have done the former; but Philips, Garth, and Boileau, only the latter.

A picture in miniature is every painter's talent; but a piece for a cupola, where all the figures are enlarged, yet proportioned to the eye, requires a maſter's hand.

It muſt ſtill be more acceptable than the low burleſque, becauſe the images of the latter are mean and filthy, and the language itſelf entirely unknown to all men of good breeding. The ſtyle of Billingſgate would not make a very agreeable figure at St. James's. A gentleman would take but little pleaſure in language, which he would think it hard to be accoſted in, or in reading words which he could not pronounce without bluſhing. The lofty burleſque is the more to be admired, becauſe, to write it, the author muſt be maſter of two of the moſt different talents in nature.

nature. A talent to find out and expoſe what is ridiculous, is very different from that which is to raiſe and elevate. We muſt read Virgil and Milton for the one, and Horace and Hudibras for the other. We know that the authors of excellent comedies have often failed in the grave ſtyle, and the tragedian as often in comedy. Admiration and Laughter are of ſuch oppoſite natures, that they are ſeldom created by the ſame perſon. The man of mirth is always obſerving the follies and weakneſſes, the ſerious writer the virtues or crimes of mankind; one is pleaſed with contemplating a beau, the other a hero: Even from the ſame object they would draw different ideas: Achilles would appear in very different lights to Therſites and Alexander. The one would admire the courage and greatneſs of his ſoul; the other would ridicule the vanity and raſhneſs of his temper. As the ſatyriſt ſays to Hanibal:

— I curre per Alpes,
Ut pueris placeas, & declamatio fias.

The contrariety of ſtyle to the ſubject pleaſes the more ſtrongly, becauſe it is more ſurpriſing; the expectation of the reader is plea-

pleaſantly deceived, who expects an humble ſtyle from the ſubject, or a great ſubject from the ſtyle. It pleaſes the more univerſally, becauſe it is agreeable to the taſte both of the grave and the merry; but more particularly ſo to thoſe who have a reliſh of the beſt writers, and the nobleſt ſort of poetry. I ſhall produce only one paſſage out of this poet, which is the misfortune of his Galligaſkins;

My Galligaſkins, which have long withſtood
The winter's fury and encroaching froſts,
By time ſubdued (what will not time ſubdue!)

This is admirably pathetical, and ſhews very well the viciſſitudes of ſublunary things. The reſt goes on to a prodigious height; and a man in Greenland could hardly have made a more pathetick and terrible complaint. Is it not ſurpriſing that the ſubject ſhould be ſo mean, and the verſe ſo pompous; that the leaſt things in his poetry, as in a microſcope, ſhould grow great and formidable to the eye? eſpecially conſidering that, not underſtanding French, he had no model for his ſtyle? that he ſhould have no writer to imitate, and himſelf

himſelf be inimitable? that he ſhould do all this before he was twenty? at an age, which is uſually pleaſed with a glare of falſe thoughts, little turns, and unnatural fuſtian? at an age, at which Cowley, Dryden, and I had almoſt ſaid Virgil, were inconſiderable? So ſoon was his imagination at its full ſtrength, his judgement ripe, and his humour complete.

This poem was written for his own diverſion, without any deſign of publication. It was communicated but to *me*; but ſoon ſpread, and fell into the hands of pirates. It was put out, vilely mangled, by Ben Bragge; *and impudently ſaid to be corrected by the author.* This grievance is now grown more epidemical; and no man now has a right to his own thoughts, or a title to his own writings. Xenophon anſwered the Perſian, who demanded his arms, "We have nothing now "left but our arms and our valour; if we "ſurrender the one, how ſhall we make "uſe of the other?" Poets have nothing but their wits and their writings; and if they are plundered of the latter, I don't ſee what good the former can do them. To pirate, and

and publickly own it, to prefix their names to the works they ſteal, to own and avow the theft, I believe, was never yet heard of but in England. It will ſound oddly to poſterity, that, in a polite nation, in an enlightened age, under the direction of the moſt wiſe, moſt learned, and moſt generous encouragers of knowledge in the world, the property of a mechanick ſhould be better ſecured than that of a ſcholar; that the pooreſt manual operations ſhould be more valued than the nobleſt products of the brain; that it ſhould be felony to rob a cobler of a pair of ſhoes, and no crime to deprive the beſt author of his whole ſubſiſtence; that nothing ſhould make a man a ſure title to his own writings but the ſtupidity of them; that the works of Dryden ſhould meet with leſs encouragement than thoſe of his own Flecknoe, or Blackmore; that Tillotſon and St. George, Tom Thumb and Temple, ſhould be ſet on an equal foot. This is the reaſon why this very paper has been ſo long delayed; and while the moſt impudent and ſcandalous libels are publickly vended by the pirates, this innocent work is forced to ſteal abroad as if it were a libel.

Our

Our preſent writers are by theſe wretches reduced to the ſame condition Virgil was, when the centurion ſeized on his eſtate. But I don't doubt but I can fix upon the Mæcenas of the preſent age, that will retrieve them from it. But, whatever effect this piracy may have upon us, it contributed very much to the advantage of Mr. Philips; it helped him to a reputation, which he neither deſired nor expected, and to the honour of being put upon a work of which he did not think himſelf capable; but the event ſhewed his modeſty. And it was reaſonable to hope, that he, who could raiſe mean ſubjects ſo high, ſhould ſtill be more elevated on greater themes; that he, that could draw ſuch noble ideas from a ſhilling, could not fail upon ſuch a ſubject as the duke of Marlborough, *which is capable of heightening even the moſt low and trifling genius.* And, indeed, moſt of the great works which have been produced in the world have been owing leſs to the poet than the patron. Men of the greateſt genius are ſometimes lazy, and want a ſpur; often modeſt, and dare not venture in publick; they certainly know their faults in the worſt

things; and even their beſt things they are not fond of, becauſe the idea of what they ought to be is far above what they are. This induced me to believe that Virgil deſired his work might be burnt, had not the ſame Auguſtus that deſired him to write them, preſerved them from deſtruction. A ſcribling beau may imagine a Poet *may* be induced to write, by the very pleaſure he finds in writing; but that is ſeldom, when people are neceſſitated to it. I have known men row, and uſe very hard labour, for diverſion, which, if they had been tied to, they would have thought themſelves very unhappy.

But to return to *Blenheim*, that work ſo much admired by ſome, and cenſured by others. I have often wiſhed he had wrote it in Latin, that he might be out of the reach of the empty criticks, who could have as little underſtood his meaning in that language as they do his beauties in his own.

Falſe criticks have been the plague of all ages; Milton himſelf, in a very polite court, has been compared to the rumbling of a wheel-barrow: he had been on the wrong

ſi!e, and therefore could not be a good poet. *And this, perhaps, may be Mr. Philips's caſe.*

But I take generally the ignorance of his readers to be the occaſion of their diſlike. People that have formed their taſte upon the French writers, can have no reliſh for Philips: they admire points and turns, and conſequently have no judgement of what is great and majeſtick; he muſt look little in their eyes, when he ſoars ſo high as to be almoſt out of their view. I cannot therefore allow any admirer of the French to be a judge of Blenheim, nor any who takes Bouhours for a compleat critick. He generally judges of the ancients by the moderns, and not the moderns by the ancients; he takes thoſe paſſages of their own authors to be really ſublime which come the neareſt to it; he often calls that a noble and a great thought which is only a pretty and fine one, and has more inſtances of the ſublime out of Ovid de Triſtibus, than he has out of all Virgil.

I ſhall allow, therefore, only thoſe to be judges of Philips, who make the ancients, and particularly Virgil, their ſtandard.

But, before I enter on this ſubject, I ſhall conſider what is particular in the ſtyle of Philips, and examine what ought to be the ſtyle of heroick poetry, and next inquire how far he is come up to that ſtyle.

His ſtyle is particular, becauſe he lays aſide rhyme, and writes in blank verſe, and uſes old words, and frequently poſtpones the adjective to the ſubſtantive, and the ſubſtantive to the verb; and leaves out little particles, *a*, and *the*; *her*, and *his*; and uſes frequent appoſitions. Now let us examine, whether theſe alterations of ſtyle be conformable to the true ſublime.

* * * * * *

WALSH.

WALSH.

WILLIAM WALSH, the ſon of Joſeph Walſh, Eſq; of Abberley in Worceſterſhire, was born in 1663, as appears from the account of Wood; who relates, that at the age of fifteen he became, in 1678, a gentleman commoner of Wadham College.

He left the univerſity without a degree, and purſued his ſtudies in London and at home; that he ſtudied, in whatever place, is apparent from the effect; for he became, in Mr. Dryden's opinion, *the beſt critick in the nation.*

He was not, however, merely a critick or a ſcholar, but a man of faſhion, and, as Dennis remarks, oſtentatiouſly ſplendid in his dreſs. He was likewiſe a member of parliament and a courtier, knight of the ſhire

for his native county in ſeveral parliaments; in another the repreſentative of Richmond in Yorkſhire; and gentleman of the horſe to Queen Anne under the duke of Somerſet.

Some of his verſes ſhew him to have been a zealous friend to the Revolution; but his political ardour did not abate his reverence or kindneſs for Dryden, to whom he gave a Diſſertation on Virgil's Paſtorals, in which, however ſtudied, he diſcovers ſome ignorance of the laws of French verſification.

In 1705, he began to correſpond with Mr. Pope, in whom he diſcovered very early the power of poetry. Their letters are written upon the paſtoral comedy of the Italians, and thoſe paſtorals which Pope was then preparing to publiſh.

The kindneſſes which are firſt experienced are ſeldom forgotten. Pope always retained a grateful memory of Walſh's notice, and mentioned him in one of his latter pieces among thoſe that had encouraged his juvenile ſtudies:

—— Granville the polite,
And knowing Walſh, would tell me I could write.

In

In his Essay on Criticism he had given him more splendid praise, and, in the opinion of the learned commentator, fairly broke the line of his judgement to his gratitude.

The time of his death I have not learned. It must have happened between 1707, when he wrote to Pope, and 1712, when Pope dedicated him his Fifty. The epitaph makes him forty-six years old: if Wood's account be right, he died in 1709.

He is known more by his familiarity with greater men, than by anything done or written by himself.

His works are not numerous. In prose he wrote *Eugenia, a defence of women*, which Dryden honoured with a Preface.

Alexander, or the Ideal of Fools, published after his death.

A collection of Letters and Poems, amorous and gallant, was published in the volumes called Dryden's Miscellany, and some other occasional pieces.

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9 AU 54

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Carthorne
Churchill
Armstrong
Goldsmith
T. Warton
J. Warton
Mason
Beattie
Cowper
Darwin
Jephson
W. Whitehead
Jr W. Jones
Johnson
Walpole
6 Smollett
Mrs Chapone

Hoyland
Penrose
Logan
Bruce
Burns
Hurdis
Hole

Carlyle
Graham
Headley
Russell
12 Lovell
Chatterton

Wilkie
Smart
Dodsley
Shaw
Jago
Hoole
Cambridge
Jeaves
Scott
Potter
Glyn
Warwick
Fawkes
Jenner
Woty
Tasker
Richardson
Burnby Greene
Macpherson
Smith of Chichester
Edwards
Gray
Stillingfleet
Murrett
T. Coventry
Branston
27 Lonsby
Walford
W.B. Stevens

Hamilton
Robertson of Strowan
Ferguson
Blair
Jr Dugd Davies
Duncombe
Jeffries
Roberts
G. Hill Stevenson
Cotton
Moore

Sandys
D. Falkland.

Shirley
Lazear
Davenant
Habington
Randolph
Cokayne
Townshend
Suckling
Sherburne
Loveland
Harrick
Stanley
Cotton -

Ja° Shirley - ——— love
Th. Carew ——— love
Davenant Sr W.
W. Habington ——— love
T. Randolph - Revd
Cokayne Sir A
Townshend Sir R.
Suckling Sir J. love
Sherburne Sir E.
R. Loveland ——— love
R. Harrick - Revd
H. Stanley
13 Cotton
Gardiner
Mohun
Sr Ro Stapylton
Quarles
Heath
H. Browne
Q. Browne
D. North
Hall
Carlton
Wood
Goldsmith
Cleveland
Birrell
Randolph
Penny

written on the margin

Notes by Cowper of a Copy of Johnsons Lives of the Poets. art. Milton' edit 1781. 8vo 4 Vols – presented by Hayley to Mr Williams Mason, Books? Chichester.

Vol 1. p. 128. l. 16 Paradise lost × Nego

130 l. 1 I am ashamed × why?

132 l. 19 by academicks × yes.

133 l. 12 his subjection × candid!

137 l. 7 from oblivion × Gratis dictum!

138. l. 11. supra se × he did well

140 l. 22. pastoral life × Is that all?

141 l. 17 boarding school × O spite!

142 l. 4 employment × self-reputation!

l. 12 can learn × Do not teachers differ as much as learners?

146. l. 23 contemptuous mention × why is it contemptuous? especially why is it savage?

149 l. 24. at his crown × and at theirs!

152 l. 19. than truth × you should have proved that he was influenced by his Humours.

153. l. 19 Royalists × Strong proof of a Temper both forgiving & liberal.

154 l. 6 settlement × The Fact is against This - because in this country these things have always been permitted.

154 l. 20 hang a thief × would you therefore cut off a mans fingers lest he should steal.

157 l. 20 suspected × as strange proof of your proposition!

177 l. 22 fantastical × petulant!

178 l. 10 foolish enough × O foolishly said!

179 l. 9 his presence × They have ale paid ~~him~~ more than you

184 l. 4 his honesty × He might if he acted on principle talk as loudly as he pleased.

193 l 13. the blind × Here are three insolent pages considering who is the subject.

194 l. 14 hand is out × Let us by all means make an ordinary man of him if we can -

195 l. 16 his command × Did you ever write blank verse?

196 l 14 deserved confusion × Brute!

196 l. 20. other powers × Impudence is the Vice of Fools & therefore could not be one of His.

206 l. 17 to himself × They are not proper objects of Comparison — In their respective kinds perhaps they are equal.

209 l. 5 procure a cure × Yet they deserve many.

211 l. 5 once quick × Thats not necessary The Eye is in the Wrist.

212 l. 7 will do it × Yet might it not be his general practice?

217 l. 8 I am afraid × Good Doctor! 'tis a delicate & tender Fear!

218 l. 6 for rebellion × And could You write this without blushing? O hominis!

219 l. 23 to memory × Yet after all this fine reasoning the story perhaps was true — and whether true or false what does it signify?

220 l 13 act good × You are glad of that.

	Born	Died
Abraham Cowley	1618	1667
John Denham	1615	1668
John Milton	1608	1674
Samuel Butler	1612	1680
John L.d Rochester	1647	1680
Wm L.d Roscommon		1684
Tho.s Otway	1651	1681
Edm.d Waller	1605	1687
John Pomfret	1667	1703
Th.s Earl of Dorset	1637	1706
George Stepney	1663	1707
John Philips	1676	1708
William Walsh	1663	ab.t 1709